

Socio-Economic Survey of 49 Villages.

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(By Dr. Karuna Mukerji)

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(Synopsis of Contents)

Economic background of India & Pakistan—Occupation, agriculture, land system. laws of inheritance, etc.—Problems of Agriculture—Subdivided, fragmented, uneconomic holdings—'Basic', 'Optimum' & 'Economic' holdings defined—Distribution & concentration of holdings—Expropriation of small peasants—Technique of cultivation—Mechanisation of agriculture in India, Pakistan & abroad—Plough-cattle & livestock problems & remedies—Irrigation & multipurpose river projects in India, Pak., U. S. A., U. S. S. R. & China—Soil, crops & food economy—Chemical properties of soil—Manure problems—Soil erosion & soil conservation—Acreage yield: India, Pak. & abroad—Food & population—1951 census—Extensive & intensive cultivation—Double cropping & crop rotation—Technological possibilities of agricultural development—Nutrition, public health & farmers' living standard—Undernourishment, balanced diet & food plan—Mixed farming in India, Pak. & abroad—Expectation of life in India, Pak. & abroad—Vital statistics—Nutrition & agricultural income—Cottage industries—Agricultural family budgets—Agricultural finance—Credit & debt conciliation—Causes & types of debts—Moneylending business upto date—Land system & its bearing on agricultural technique & efficiency—Zamindars & raiyats—Disintegration of peasant economy—Subinfeudation & tenures—Exploitation by tenure-holders—Crop-sharing cultivation—Special problems of crop-sharers—Production relations in rural areas—Problems of land transfer—Extent of land alienation—Landlordism fetters agricultural improvement—Prerequisites of improved agriculture—Landlord, tenant & State—Items of agrarian reforms—Objectives of land reform—Land reforms & technological improvements—Defective agriculture & remedial measures—Consolidation of holdings—Large-scale farming—Restrictions on land transfer—Co-operation & credit—Rehabilitation of co-operative movement—F. A. O. & co-operation in India & Pak.—Debt settlement of co-operators—Mortgage credit—Agricultural Finance Corporation—Marketing problems in India, Pak. & abroad—Fundamentals of co-operative marketing: India, Pak. & World—Multipurpose co-operation and co-operative farming—Problems of agricultural planning—Bombay Plan—Colombo Plan—Six-year Plan of Pakistan—Indian Five Year Plan—Etc., Etc.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC SURVEY OF 49 VILLAGES

(*A First-hand Field-work by the author in India & Pakistan*)

BY

Dr. Karuna Mukerji. M. A., P. R. S., D. Phil. (Econ.).

Cobden Medallist, University Prizoman, University Research Scholar,

Griffith Prizoman (1943 & 1947), etc. etc.

Examiner, Gauhati University.

Senior Professor of Economics

and

Head of the Depts. of Economics & Commerce,

Bangabasi College, Calcutta.

Sometime Professor of Economics, Jagannath College,

Dacca, East Pakistan.

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To the hallowed memory of my revered father



Satya Charan Mukerji

Born---1868, July.

Died---1929, December.

PREFACE

Hunger and nakedness stalk through the globe—at least through large parts of it today. They are, in the main, a gift of the Second World War. In South-East Asia alone, the war has brought recurring famines and deaths in countless numbers. The Indian sub-continent was not, of course, the actual battle theatre, and, yet, it witnessed one of the severest famines in its history—the Bengal Famine of 1943; this was, in a large measure, caused by the exigencies of the war of 1939-45.

The present study seeks to depict the horrors and describe the after-effects of that famine. This is a long-delayed publication,—an earlier draft having been rendered obsolete and useless by the Partition in 1947—and the data used here are, of course, out-of-date. Famines, however, are not out-of-date in this ancient land. Against the background of the periodical famines of the past, we have now reached a stage when there is famine almost every month in one part of this sub-continent or the other. In this part of South-East Asia, now carved out into India and Pakistan, the suffering of the people during the last one decade and the destitution of an important section of it have, as in other parts of the under-developed world, increasingly become chronic and seem to have assumed a semi-permanent character. It is, in fact, to show how devastating the consequences of a famine may be; how thoroughly, although slowly but steadily, famine (and starvation) saps the vitality of the people and disintegrates their social and moral lives and how violently it shatters many facets of the national economy that the author felt the urge to publish the results of his inquiries. An investigation was carried on single-handedly by the author in a number of villages of pre-partition Bengal so as to ascertain the kind of results obtainable by the statistical method of random survey. The author does not claim to have strictly adhered to the principle of randomisation from the beginning to the end; yet, it is correct to say that this volume upholds the statistical approach in studying socio-economic problems. The project was pursued with much labour and devotion ceaselessly for three months in the rural areas and I was loath to forego the opportunity of presenting the fruits of my researches to the educated public. Hence this publication.

How severe and painful was the famine of 1943? The answer has already been given in clear terms by a number of writers in the last few years. If we may recall here the march of that avalanche called 'famine', severely sweeping, as it did, more than 20 million people of pre-partition Bengal, we, to-day, on the lapse of about a decade, cannot help dramatising the course of events which, in the succeeding stages of their unfoldment, rendered the 60-million province of Bengal into "a place of broken fences; melancholy, hopeless, despairing, with the miasma of abject poverty hanging over it."

After-effects of the Famine of 1943: The total number of deaths in Bengal in that single year was, according to a sample survey by Calcutta University Anthropology Department, three-and-a-half million. Although officially every attempt was made to deny the reports of starvation deaths and to deflate, as far as possible, the number of the dead, the Government-sponsored Famine Inquiry Commission of 1944 recorded the number to be one-and-a-half million. The total number of post-famine *destitutes* was of

the order of 1.08 million in May, 1944. (*A Sample Survey of After-Effects of the Bengal Famine of 1943* by P. C. Mahalanobis, F.R.S., April, 1946, p. 18). About 3.8 million persons included in about 0.7 million families suffered a serious lowering of economic status and decrease of earning power as a consequence of the Famine. (*Ibid*, p. 27). Out of 6.5 million families in rural Bengal owning paddy land, 0.92 million of such families were estimated to have sold such land, of which 0.26 million sold their land to the extent of the whole of their possession, thus losing their sole or chief means of livelihood. They were reduced to the ranks of landless labourers. Again, 0.67 million families mortgaged their paddy lands (*Ibid*, p. 33). It is likely that much of this land was not redeemed at all. Leases are not included in these figures; if, however, these are effected by the ordinary tenant-cultivators, such transference also implies a diminution in their *Khas* holdings and a corresponding deterioration in their economic condition. The number of Lease deeds in Bengal rose from 3,55,968 in 1942 to 5,68,452 in 1943. (*Triennial Report on the working of Registration Department in Bengal for the three years ending 1943*, p. 7).

The poorer section of agriculturists who lost their lands in full or in part adjusted themselves to lower economic levels by relying more and more on *bhag-chas* or crop-sharing cultivation, and, also, by selling their labour power as farm labourers. Adjustment at lower levels also took place through shifts into less remunerative occupational groups, such as, petty trade or petty employment, or, even unproductive enterprises or begging. Thus, the agricultural economy of Bengal suffered a serious set-back.

In fact, the entire rural economy was thrown completely out of gear. Village artisans, and craftsmen, such as, weavers, potters, carpenters, blacksmiths, goldsmiths; and petty businessmen, such as, milkmen, fishermen, vegetable sellers and petty shop-keepers,—all of them were the hapless victims of the ruthless famine.

In the wake of the famine came the horror of the sweeping epidemic. According to the estimate given by the People's Relief Committee of which the present Chief Minister of West Bengal happened to be the President, about 20 million people were attacked with famine-epidemic and by September, 1944, 1,200,000 people in Bengal had died of various diseases. (*Rural Bengal in Ruins* by Bhowani Sen, p. 18).

'Man-Made' & 'War-Made' Famine: The famine of 1943 has been characterised as a "man-made" famine. The reason is that the food shortage in Bengal was only a shortage of six weeks' supplies and it should have been met by imports and better distribution. But over one-third of the population of Bengal was hit by the famine and the famishing rural folk—skeleton-like famine destitutes—began their trek to Calcutta in countless streams as early as from April 1943, and in no time the streets and pavements of the city were found littered with numerous unidentified dead bodies.

But, as commented earlier, one might well observe that the famine was a 'war-made' famine. We clearly remember how the rice-exporting markets of South-East Asia which fell to Japan were for the time being lost to India. This event was climaxed by the export of foodstuffs to feed the army stationed in Ceylon, Africa and Middle East. The reckless 'denial' policy enforced by the then foreign Governor of Bengal coupled with the dishonesty, cupidity and bungling of the men at the helm of the

administration, was no mean cause of the food shortage. Then, the war-inflation gave rise to a price-spiral just as the hoarders and blackmarketeers created the food racket. Again, the movement of the army and ammunition blocked the despatch of foodgrains from Western India to Bengal, and that created local shortages. And, finally, the entire stock of rice in Bengal was cornered by the big zamindars, jotedars and traders with a view to selling it at fabulous prices to military contractors and war-profiteers. Wherever the military purchasers entered the rice market and the war-contractors were bidding against the civilian consumers, the prices shot up and ruled beyond the reach of the ordinary man. For instance, the price of rice in Calcutta which was Rs. 6 per maund in January, 1942, rose to Rs. 11 in November, 1942, Rs. 24 in February-April, 1943, Rs. 30 in May, Rs. 35 in July, Rs. 38 in August, Rs. 40 in October, 1943. The price rose as high as to Rs. 50 to Rs. 100 per maund in the mofussil districts.

Mr. L. S. Amery, the then Secretary of State for India, was reported to have observed at the time that the famine was an "act of God" in that the crop-failures caused by the failures of the monsoon in the past years and the resulting lack of carry-over to 1943, were, at bottom, the main factors responsible for the holocaust. But physical causes like drought and flood may cause temporary scarcity even in a most advanced country in any particular year and may even inflict severe consequential hardships on the people. Do they, however, throw a country's entire economy completely out of gear so much so that countless people are rendered destitute and permanent invalids, homeless and helpless street beggars, and that thousands of families are completely wiped out and millions upon millions of active men and women die like rats in the open streets and in the fields to be devoured by jackals and vultures and in many cases to be torn to pieces by dogs and animals even before the lamp of life is actually put out? And this was a universal picture in almost every hamlet and town in Bengal in that fateful year—1943!

There must be something deeper—some cause more fundamental than temporary physical shortages—which can really account for such devastating famines. There must be something basically wrong about the society and the country's administration and something incongruous in the extant economic relations within the nation where such a catastrophe—such a ruthless cruelty—can at all be perpetrated. And if that basic cause may be properly diagnosed, the right kind of remedy may yet be applied in a supreme effort to eradicate hunger, starvation and famine.

Frequency of Famines in British India : We may be permitted here to go back a little into the pages of history to find that during the last 200 years of the British rule in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent famines have occurred in regular frequency—more so and with greater vehemence in the past one hundred years or the like. In the first half of the nineteenth century there were seven famines, with an estimated total of 1.5 million deaths from famine. In the second half of the nineteenth century there were twenty-four famines (six between 1851 and 1875, and eighteen between 1876 and 1900), with an estimated total, according to official records, of over 20 million deaths (R. Palme Dutt, *India To-day*, p. 106). "Stated roughly, famines and scarcities have been four times as numerous during the last thirty years of the nineteenth century as they were one hundred years earlier, and four times more widespread." (William Digby, *Prosperous British India*, 1901).

Basic Causes of Famines in Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent: The basic causes of famines in this sub-continent may, among others, be enumerated as follows :

(1) In recent years, there has been permanent deficit (since 1936) because of the separation of Burma from India (in 1935) and very recently by the partition of India (1947). The difficulties of the actual shortage have been accentuated by war-time and post-war inflation and mal-distribution of the year's output and by the cornering of this output by speculators, hoarders and blackmarketeers.

(2) The technique of agriculture is very low and out-of-date and there is almost complete divorce between science and farming and; for one thing, there is a remarkable absence of drainage and irrigation facilities.

(3) The physical power of resistance of the people is at a low ebb due to poverty and prolonged mal-nutrition and inadequate public health and medical facilities. This is one of the reasons of numerous famine-deaths.

(4) The greatest majotiy of cultivators have no grain reserve—not even the cover for the annual domestic needs—owing to 'uneconomic' family holdings or outright landlessness : lands and grains become more and more the monopoly of a few.

(5) The prevailing agrarian relations are largely feudal or semi-feudal in character and exhibit very many aspects of the mediaeval agrarian structure, such as, the prevalence of *aggressive serfdom* : there are bond slaves (Congress Agrarian Reforms Committee report, extracts in *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, Calcutta, dated 3. 11. 49. Also, India Govt. Agricultural Labour Inquiry, extracts in *The Statesman*, Calcutta, dated 18. 9. 51) ; there are child slaves (Indian Labour Minister's statement in Parliament regarding 30,000 child slaves in Hyderabad alone published in *The Statesman*, Calcutta, 22. 9. 51) ; there is forced labour (Wadia & Merchant : *Our Economic Problems*, 2nd Ed., pp. 260-63), etc., obtaining in vast specific areas of this sub-continent. Then, there are the general and over-all crushing burden of indebtedness of the peasantry (and artisans) ; illegal exactions by landlords and money-lenders ; the fraud and deception perpetrated by uncontrolled and selfish grain-dealers ; the insecure tenancy conditions of a vast section of the cultivators and the expropriation of small holders ; the wide practice of *matayer* cultivation and increasing layers of sub-infeudation ; and so on. These and similar other things are responsible for the poverty, illiteracy, despair and lack of enthusiasm among the greatest bulk of the peasants or tenant-cultivators. All this leads to the existing air of gloom and cheerlessness and the suppression of energy and initiative and thwarts all possibilities of self-help and community-help towards securing a better lot and a bumper production.

(6) Agriculture forms about the sole occupation of the mass of the population,—there is no other industry from which any considerable part of the population derives its support. While the introduction of a diversity of occupations appears to be the obvious remedy, the almost universal dependence on agriculture may be characterised, historically, as "the expression of the destruction of the old balance of industry and agriculture and the relegation of India to the role of an agricultural appendage of" a foreign imperialism.

Population and Food : It is often asked in the academic circle of native scholars if the problem of famine in our land is the problem of population or of agriculture. Space does not permit us here to enter into a discussion

of the highly debated and controversial theory of Malthus and of Neo-Malthusians of the post-war version, such as, Vogt (*The Road to Survival*), Pendell (*Population on the Loose*), Paul Reboux (*Too Many Children*) and others; nor is it the place to examine whether India (or Pakistan) is overpopulated. We find that between 1921 and 1951, the population of India (and Pakistan) has been estimated to be increasing at the rate of about 1% per annum. But the total area sown in India to-day is 0.7 acre per head of population and the total area under food crops is 0.6 acre. These figures, of course, represent the *average* per capita area sown. According to Sir John Russell, a British expert on Indo-Pakistani agriculture, a "satisfactory vegetarian diatery can be produced on about 0.75 acre per head." (*The Statesman*, Calcutta, 28.2.51). A little more intensive cultivation than practised at the moment and a little attempt to introduce mixed farming on a moderate scale, which, by the way, is at present conspicuous by its absence, may go a long way to supply the cultivator an ampler diet quantitatively or even a balanced diet, as is shown by the results of mixed farming among certain sections of the people of such backward colonies as Sierra Leone, Nigeria, Gold Coast, etc. (Dr. Wright's Report). And, moreover, 0.7 acre per head is not the limit of India's possible cultivated area. A reserve of about 127 m. to 134 m. acres exists for possible further development. In Pakistan it is about 26 million acres.

The statistics show that the area under foodgrains in India is increasing: From 192 m. acres in 1943-4, the area has been extended to 207 m. acres in 1949-50. There has thus been an increase of 15 m. acres in 6 years, an increase of about 1% per annum, the same as the increase in population. And yet the food deficit remains at 10% to 14% of the total requirements. To cover this gap would require a further 20 m. to 30 m. acres to be brought under the plough, assuming the acreage yield of the existing cultivated areas cannot be substantially increased by better technological aid. But even without much further extension of cultivation, we can immediately arrest the decline in food production as during 1949-52 if our leaders and administrators, instead of over-emphasising the importance of commercial crops, do a little violence to their so-called "integrated" crop production plan, that is, if they actively and materially discourage the growing displacement of food-crops cultivation by money-crops cultivation.

The problem that remains to be solved boils down to the better utilisation of the lands, a practical and fruitful crop-planning and a more equitable distribution of holdings among the petty cultivators and landless farm hands.

Problem of Famine Viewed as a Problem of Agriculture : *Lack of irrigation* : According to one estimate, out of a total area of 781 m. acres in India (Indian Union), 250 m. acres remain still unclassified; 370 m. acres are described as "cultivable" of which only 236 m. acres are cultivated. Of this cultivated area, barely 48 m. acres or about 20% are under irrigation. Thus, 134 m. acres of uncultivated culturable lands and 188 m. acres of cultivated lands remain unirrigated. 135 multi-purpose river projects reported to be under different stages of survey or construction contemplate, ultimately, the irrigation of 12.9 m. acres of additional lands, yielding, on the basis of the present standard of agriculture, an additional quantity of 4.3 m. tons of food (and 1.9 m. Kilowatts of hydro-electric power). 122 more river projects said to be under investigation are expected to irrigate 42 m. acres more. The projects under actual construction are,

however, making scanty progress. The Damodar Valley Project, the Bhakra-Nangal Project and the Hirakud Project—each of them has progressed much less during 1948-52 than, for instance, the Huai Project in China during 1950-52, as Indian eye-witness accounts in China and Chinese official documents as far as available in India tell us so far. So, we must quicken our pace remembering that in India only about 7% of her vast water resources are at present utilised, while the rest runs to waste.

In Pakistan, specially in its Western wing, irrigation is much more developed than in the Indian Union. But, yet, in Pakistan as a whole, there remains about 23% of total lands (about 26 m. acres—C. N. Vakil's estimate) described as cultivable waste now uncultivated. It may safely be presumed that along with other methods of improved farming, irrigation may help this area gradually to be brought under the plough.

Low Crop Yields : The present acreage yield of crops in India and Pakistan is demonstrably very low. In Pakistan, the average yield of rice per acre is 11.4 maunds, while it is 33.4 maunds in Japan and 50.2 maunds in Italy ; that of wheat is 8 maunds in Pakistan as against 13.2 maunds in Italy, 16 maunds in Japan and 17.6 maunds in the U.S.S.R. ; that of maize 7.5 maunds in Pakistan as contrasted from 17 maunds in Japan, 17.7 maunds in Italy and 26.6 maunds in the U S S R (*Pakistan Economic Journal*, July, 1949).

Diminishing Acreage Yield : In India, or in Pakistan, not only are acreage crop yields low, they are steadily diminishing. The average yield of rice fell from 957 lbs. per acre in 1921-22 to 717 lbs. per acre in 1945-46 ; wheat yield fell from 845 lbs. per acre to 580 lbs. during the same period ; cotton from 104 lbs. to 81 lbs ; linseed from 402 lbs. to 259 lbs. ; Rape & mustard from 519 lbs. to 374 lbs, tobacco from 1179 lbs. (in 1931-32) to 672 lbs. (in 1945-46). (*Fiscal Commission Report*, 1949-50, vol-1 ; p. 27).

Diminution in crop yield can, however, be stopped and the acreage yield can, in fact, be increased considerably by proper soil management and improved technological aid.

Soil Erosion : Soil erosion is causing serious damage to agriculture both in Pakistan and India. In Pakistan, in the uplands alone of Jhelum, Rawalpindi and Attock districts and parts of the Siwalik range, there are about one-inch million acres of seriously gullied land. (Dr. R. MacLagan Gorrie's estimate). In India, the total area affected by erosion is about 123 m. acres, that is, more than 50% of the total cultivated area which is variously estimated between 236 m. and 243 m. acres (latter estimate by Russell). Now, according to the Union Food Minister, "If this is restored, our annual production of food-grains would increase by ten million tons" (his speech in Parliament on 29. 6. 51), and this is much more than India's estimated food deficit, namely, 5 m. to 6 m. tons (his estimate given in Parliament on 13. 8. 51.)

Technological Possibilities of Agricultural Development : The question of the potential increase in crop yields in India and Pakistan has been discussed by Dr. Burns, another British expert on Indo-Pakistani agriculture, who thinks that yields of rice can be increased by 30%.—5% by using improved variety, 20% by increasing manure and 5% by protecting from pests and diseases. The present average outturn can even be increased by 50%, viz, 10% by variety and 40% by manuring. Wheat and millets can be increased by 30%, sugar-cane can be increased from 15

to 30 or even 55 tons per acre ; cow-milk by 75% ; buffalo-milk by 60% ; and so on.

Indian crops suffer greatly from the depredations of insects ranging from locusts to mites and larger animals. Damages done by monkeys alone have been estimated at 5%,—enough to feed some 15 million people. (Sir John Russell's estimate). There are also huge losses on bad storage.

In Pakistan, the average yield of crops can be appreciably increased by preventing, or at least minimising, the damage done to standing crops by insect-pests and diseases. In the single province of West Punjab, such losses are estimated at Rs. 85 million annually. Again, about 2.5% of the total outturn of foodgrains in that province valued at Rs. 115 million is lost due to inadequate storage facilities. (Figures from paper by Dr. K. A. Rahman, Principal, Punjab Agricultural College, Lyallpur).

Difficulties of Technological Improvement : The condition precedent to the adoption of improved technology in agriculture are, among others. (1) the availability of better seeds, manures, fertilizers and weed-pest-and disease-killing chemicals in adequate quantities ; (2) education and incentive among cultivators in favour of increased production ; (3) their financial ability to adopt the recommended improved methods ; and (4) economic holdings with consolidated plots big enough for purposes of modern scientific and mechanised farming.

The holdings of most of the cultivators in India and Pakistan are uneconomic, scattered and fragmented. Illiteracy among them is almost universal. The technological *know-how* in agriculture is about completely absent. Cheap chemical fertilizers are as yet very difficult to obtain, specially so in Pakistan ; indigenous manures are rarely prepared carefully and farmyard manures are all but wasted. Weed and insect-killers are not freely available.

There is, thus, a wide gap between the possibilities opened up by agricultural science and the realities of the peasant farms and holdings in this sub-continent. The food deficit, specially in India, would have been more than covered if the results of modern scientific research could have been properly utilised by the cultivators. That they cannot do so is because there is among them a total lack of incentive which arises from insecure tenancy conditions, smallness of holdings and, above all, their extreme poverty and their consequent inability to procure better seeds, fertilizers, improved appliances and marketing facilities.

Subdivision of Holdings : The extent of the subdivided and 'uneconomic' holdings in some of the provinces or States of India and Pakistan may be noted here : In *Madras*, the average yield per acre of cultivated land is 0.41 ton in terms of cereals. (Famine Inquiry Commission, Final Report, 1945, p. 255 n). But, "74 percent of the *pattas* or raiyatwari holdings covering 36 percent of the total area have an average area of 2.4 acre" (Bengal Land Revenue Commission Report, Vol. II, p. 30) ; this means they yield one ton of cereals each on the average, while at least, 2 tons are estimated to be the minimum return that a cultivator must be assured from out of his holding, because an yield below this quantity renders the holding 'uneconomic' and condemns the cultivator to an "uncertain livelihood." (Sir Manilal Nanavati's opinion). According to a Governmental report from *Madras*, while *pattas* paying Rs. 10 and less formed 69.5 percent of the total number in the twenties of this century, they amounted to about 76.5 percent in 1944-45 (Famine Com. Final Report, 1945, p. 256).

In *Uttar Pradesh*, the average yield of cereals is 0.35 ton per acre (Famine Com. *ibid*, p. 255n). The average 'economic' holding in the State must therefore, consist of about 6 acres. In Gorakhpur district the average holding is 4.8 acres, the land being, of course, rather fertile. In certain areas of the Agra district, 27.3% of holdings are less than 2.5 acres, 23.3% are between 2.5 and 4.5 acres, 28.9% between 5 and 10 acres, 14.3% between 10 to 17.5 acres and 6.2% over 17.5 acres. So, over 50% of the holdings are uneconomic. (Famine Com. *ibid* pp. 255-56). In *Bombay*, the yield per acre of net area sown is 0.19 ton. So, 10 to 11 acres would on the average be the size of the 'economic' holding in the State. But 1.13 million holdings owned by 49% of the agricultural families come up to only 0 to 5 acres each, and another 29% of the families have 5 to 15 acres each. (*The Indian Rural Problem* by Nanavati & Anjaria, p. 45). In the *Punjab*, the average yield of cereals per acre is 0.34 ton which means that the size of the 'economic' holding would be about 6 to 7 acres. But, 20.2% of peasants own 0-1 acre each, 28.6% own 1-3 acres each, 14.9% own 3-5 acres each and 36.3% own 5 acres and above. (Punjab Board of Economic Enquiry). In *Bengal*, the average yield of cereals per acre is 0.48 ton and, so, about 4 to 5 acres would be necessary to constitute an 'economic' holding. But in *West Bengal* 35.66% of cultivator families hold less than 2 acres each, 10.69% hold 2-3 acres each, 9.19% hold 3-4 acres, 8.66% hold 4-5 acres, 19.24% hold 5-10 acres and 9.77% hold 10 acres and up. (Calculated from Land Revenue Commission Report, Vol. II, pp. 114-15). In *East Pakistan*, 49.47% of cultivators hold less than 2 acres each, 11.22% hold 2-3 acres each, 9.13% hold 3-4 acres, 17.02% hold 4-5 acres, 14.15% hold 5-10 acres and 6.70% hold 10 acres and up. (Same source). In *Sind*, 30.2% of cultivators hold up to 5 acres, 30.2% hold 5-15 acres, 14.3% hold 15-25 acres, 17.9% hold 25-100 acres, 24.5% hold 100-500 acres and 2.9% hold 500 acres and up. (Sind Land Revenue Administration Report for 1936-37). Here we notice the prevalence of 'uneconomic' holdings in the lower acreage groups (and on the analogy of Bombay, 10 to 11 acres should be necessary to constitute an 'economic' holding), while land concentration is a striking feature in the upper acreage groups.

Concentration of Holdings : If one aspect of the problem of backward agriculture in this subcontinent is the fragmented and 'uneconomic' holdings, another aspect is the over-concentration of holdings, which may legitimately be compared to that state of the patient's health when there is "apoplexy at the brain and anaemia at the limbs." According to an official survey in pre-partition Bengal (*Plot to Plot Enumeration*—Isaque's survey in 77 villages in East and West Bengal in 1945), 36.4% families were landless at the one extreme, while 14.3% of families held 62.4% of lands or a little less than two-thirds of the total acreage of lands at the other. (*Ibid*. Report, part I, pp. 47-8). According to the Punjab Board of Economic Enquiry, the position in pre-partition Punjab was as follows : 20.2% of owners (in 0-1 acreage group) held only 0.8% of land ; 28.6% of owners (in 1-3 acreage group) held 5.2% of land ; 14.9% owners (in 3-5 acreage group) had 6.2% lands ; and 36.3% owners (in 5-up acreage group) had 87.8% lands ; among the last 36.3% owners, 30.0% owned 35.0% lands ; 3.9% owned 14.8% lands and 2.4% alone possessed 38.0% of lands. In *Sind*, in the ascending scale of acreage groups, 30.2% of land owners owned 1.62% of total land ; 30.2% owned 5.42% land ; 14.29% owned 5.18% ; 17.96% owned 16.19% ; 4.49% owned 23.33% ; and 2.86% owned 48.26%

(Sind Land Revenue Administration Report for 1936-37). In Bombay, 49% of agricultural families held 9.5% of the total area ; 29% of families held 22.8% of land ; 11% of families held 17.7% of lands ; 10% of families held 34.4% of land ; and only 1% of families held 15.6% of land. (*The Indian Rural Problem* by Nanavati & Anjaria, p. 45).

The above is a picture of maldistribution of lands in a number of typical provinces. The situation in other provinces is more or less the same. An aspect of the solution is the immediate over-hauling of the entire agrarian structure by changing fundamentally the feudal or semi-feudal land tenure systems and the remodelling of the semi-colonial character of our economy in the broadest sense of the term. Prosperity or a high living standard will be a long-term objective and the thorough rejuvenation of the economic life will, of course, take time to materialise. Meanwhile, we cannot allow people to perish from hunger. Only a bold agrarian reform programme—a programme basically different from that pursued so far—a programme which must solve the twin agrarian problems of outmoded technology and tenure—can step up food production in India and Pakistan and solve a variety of economic ills.

With vast lands lying fallow and with enormous man-power lying idle, it is surprising and, indeed, regrettable that we have to depend on other countries for supply of so much of our food requirements. The best probable solution of our food problem and famine is to enthrone the cultivator to produce more by making him the owner of the land he cultivates and allowing him to reap and enjoy the full benefit of his labour. It is a pity that the present leaders of India and Pakistan and the administrative systems in these countries have failed to release the creative energy of the working people in towns and the countryside, to organise and direct this energy towards rehabilitation and further development of the respective national economies for building up that type of economic democracy which might provide the equality of opportunities for all and for the decisive improvement in the conditions of the people.

Plan of this book : Part one of this volume consists of an account of the author's investigations and a general summary of what socio-economic changes he noticed in the wake of the famine of 1943 as he moved from one place to another in the different districts of pre-partition Bengal. Part Two contains a brief discussion on the history, the methods and objects of rural surveys so far known to have been conducted in Indo-Pakistan sub-continent and the procedure followed by the author in conducting his own investigations. Part Three shows the statistical results obtained from a study of 255 families in 9 villages of West Bengal. Part Four reveals, in terms of figures and facts, the socio-economic conditions of 172 families in 40 villages of East Bengal.

A list of persons whose help has materially promoted the author's investigations has been appended at the end of this volume. I must, however, take this opportunity to acknowledge my debt of gratitude to Bangabasi College authorities for their having granted me study leave for conducting my inquiries in the villages. I am beholden to my wife, Bina Mukerji, for her help in preparing the typescript. Finally, I must thank Sri Jitendra Nath Sarkar, librarian at Bangabasi College for his having assisted me in securing the paper for publishing this volume.

Karuna Mukerji.

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Note—Indian & Pakistani Coins as in 1943-44:

One Rupee=16 annas=1 Shilling 6 pence.

One Anna=12 pies=1.125 Penny.

Note—Indian & Pakistani measurement of land area:

One bigha=20 Kathas=.33 acre.

Three bighas=1 Acre.

Katha is also spelt as Katta or Kottah or Kotta.

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PART I.

THE STORY OF FAMINE.

CHAPTER—I.

Introduction.

§1. How the inquiry began :

It was in East Bengal. The author was speeding up his field-work in connection with his study of the cotton handloom weaving industry in the Madhabdi area of Narshingdi Police Station, District Dacca. The industry was badly dislocated due to the impact of the Famine in that year—the fateful famine year of 1943. More thorough investigation into the weavers' economic life as a whole revealed, however, that their subsidiary (and in some cases, main) occupation, agriculture, too, was equally badly affected. Then, again, the study of other members of the weavers' families who were alternatively employed as loom-labourers, loom-technicians, yarn-merchants, day-labourers, and so on, gave no encouraging picture of the economic situation of that locality roundly taken. Everybody appeared to have been more or less deeply stricken by the famine. The entire rural economic life seemed to have been shaken to its very foundation. An investigation, therefore, into the general economic condition in that area was undertaken. In other words, the author embarked upon a plan of studying the social background and the economic consequences of the Famine on the rural life of the region as a whole.

§2. Classification of occupational categories :

Now, a man as an economic unit can pursue different avocations ; naturally, some broad occupational categories had to be selected. For instance, a man who is a weaver can be classed as an 'Artisan'. An Artisan, for our purpose, will, however, mean any person depending for his livelihood on any handicraft or home-craft, e.g., a carpenter, a blacksmith, a goldsmith, a potter, also, a mason, and so on. One who tills the land either as a *raiyat* or an *under-raiyat*, that is, a tenant-cultivator, may be classed as a peasant. But there are peasants and peasants : a "small peasant" and a "middle peasant", for example. The use of such expressions may seem to be rather unconventional. It must be admitted that words like "small" and "middle", which, in this connection, seek to convey, vaguely, the idea about an economic status, must, in the ultimate analysis, appear meaningless unless these are interpreted concretely in terms of the productivity of or income from the land owned and cultivated. Mere size of the holding is of small significance. Remembering this, we may attempt to define a "middle peasant" by saying that he is a peasant who holds a "medium holding" and that "*medium holding*" may be regarded as one which is capable normally of yielding in terms of

*cereals not less than two tons nor more than five tons.** Although the fertility of soil varies from district to district in a province, and even from village to village in a district, the average yield of cereals per acre of net area sown in pre-partition Bengal was 0.48 ton.** A "Medium holding" may, therefore, vary from 4.17 to 10.42 acres, or 12.51 bighas to 31.26 bighas, and a 'middle peasant' may be said to be one who holds and cultivates 4.17 acres (12.51 bighas) in the minimum to 10.42 acres (31.26 bighas) in the maximum. In this volume, however, we have used the expression "small peasant" meaning a cultivator with 4 acres or 12 standard bighas in the maximum (with a little above zero acre as the minimum limit), and a peasant with more than 12 bighas, but not more than (in round figures) 30 bighas, has been termed a "middle peasant". In pre-partition Bengal, although the average holding had been ascertained to be 4.36 acres which should impart the status of a "middle peasant" to the average holder yet, in fact, as much as 66.6% of total occupancy-cultivators were "small peasants" owning less than 4 acres each.† The average size of the family is assumed here, as also in subsequent paragraphs, to be equal to five, though the number of persons per 1000 houses in Bengal was 5412 in 1941.‡

Then, again, another occupational category is the landless "agricultural labourer", who is either a farm-labourer, toiling in the field, or a day-labourer of different descriptions, ranging from household servants to porters at the market place. We should not call him a day labourer who owns or cultivates land and in the slack season offers his services on hire. A day labourer lives mainly by selling his labour. He may, of course, possess a homestead including a kitchen garden attached to it. But his main occupation does not consist in raising and selling vegetables. If he did pursue such an occupation, we might class him as a "petty trader", and, in that case, working as a day labourer should be considered to be his by-occupation.

A "petty trader" should include a seller not only of vegetables but also of fish, or betel, or sweets, or of grocery goods and so on. In fact, anybody whose income is derived mainly from any kind of small running business may be taken to be a "petty trader". A confectioner, a milk-man, a fisherman, a grocer, a betel trader (Barui), etc., may all be classed as "petty traders".

§3. Selection of samples :

From the above we get a five-fold classification of rural occupations. There might be other occupational categories or groups. The classification will vary as the principle of grouping will vary. Anyway, by defining the types as above, the author started his inquiries in the Madhabdi area. He covered 117 families. But except in the case of some of the weaver families, the heads of the families were chosen at random from the motley crowd jostling at the local free Gruel Kitchen at Madhabdi. The families chosen came from 35 different villages in Narshingdi and Araihasar Police Stations. The selection of the samples may thus be called fairly representative and

* This idea was borrowed from the Famine Commission at the time of revising this book. Vide foot note to page 259, Final Report of the Famine Inquiry Commission, 1945.

** Vide last line of p. 254 and 1st line of p. 255, *Ibid.*

† Vide Table VIII (b) Appendix IX (pp. 114-15), Vol. II, Report of the Land Revenue Commission, Bengal, 1910.

‡ Vide Table, p. 4, Census of India Tables, Vol. IV., 1941.

random. But, even so, such a selection was bound to result in a population bias, for, the assembled people largely consisted of destitute widows of erstwhile landless labourers. The samples are, therefore, likely to reveal, for instance, the highest rate of mortality among the male members of the family units chosen, which might or might not be true of the locality as a whole. But as in this book the author does not attempt to establish over-all generalisations or sweeping conclusions based on averages, types, groups or categories, the population bias referred to above does not affect the arguments put forth below.

§ 4. Economic importance of the area chosen :

The area (mainly Madhabdi Union) that was selected is an important economic centre. In the first place, about ten thousand looms of different descriptions are said to be located here. Secondly, the "Babur Hat"* is the big outlet for all sorts of commodities locally produced, specially clothes woven around an area measuring 680 sq. miles that the Narayanguge Sub-Division comprises.** The Department of Industries of the Government of undivided Bengal mentions in its Bulletin No. 88*** that "about Rs. 1,50,000/- worth of piece goods are sold on every market-day while during the winter season the sales exceed Rs. 2,50,000/- even". But on personal investigation the author is satisfied that even during the climax of the distress of the Famine, the sale proceeds in 1943 rose more than five times the official figures quoted, and the volume marketed increased greatly indeed. Anyway, the fact remains that Madhabdi area is an important centre of economic activity.

§ 5. Closed area :

But it is a closed area, a rural area that is practically cut off from the Sub-divisional and District towns and the industrial and commercial centres around, because of the paucity of good roads and thoroughly navigable canals. The Brahmaputra canal is navigable only during the rains but it almost dries up on the approach of winter. The nearest railway station, viz., Jinardi, is 8 miles off and the Jinardi-Madhabdi Road is badly maintained and the only motorable road from Narsingdi to Danga via Panchdona is ill-connected with Madhabdi. Moreover, the area forms part of a deficit District that Daeca is for purposes of people's food requirements. Naturally, therefore, any conclusion drawn on the basis of the data collected in this area could not have applied to the then Bengal as a whole.

§ 6. "Surplus" area :

Subsequently, therefore, the author selected the Districts of Jessore †and Nadia †† which had been declared "surplus" areas by the then Bengal Ministry. But the examination of a surplus District as opposed to a deficit one alone

*The weekly 'Hat' (fair) at Madhabdi, popularly so called.

**Vide A. J. King's *Comprehensive Report on Road Development Projects in Bengal*, Vol. IV, page 12.

***Page 42.

†That part of Jessore District which is now included in 24-Parganas District of West Bengal. ††That part of Nadia District which now comprises the District of Kushtia of East Pakistan.

could not give perfect results. For, as was found later, a locality in a surplus or that in a deficit District exhibited different results in the case of persons with different occupations and with alternative sources of income. For instance, the famine affected the small peasants of Harishankarpur* very badly indeed, but those among them who had, in addition, factory jobs (at the Mohini Cotton Textile Mills, Kushtia) suffered less. Thus, while, on the one hand, Ichliahuq Sheikh, Torab Sarder, Ichhub Biswas, Manu Mondal and others had to sell away their cultivable lands and ornaments and other family assets; on the other hand, however, Taher Mondal, Dalu Sheik, Badal Mistri, of the same village pulled on tolerably well as they all had "a second string to the bow", as we call it; that is, an additional source of income in the shape of factory employment. Then, again, take, for example, Mahadeb Paramanik of Pearapur** who owned only $2\frac{1}{2}$ bighas or .83 acre of paddy land and cultivated, in addition, 6 bighas or 2 acres of 'Barga' (share-cropped) land. He had not had to experience any great difficulty if only because he worked at Lilooah Railway Workshop (in Howrah District of West Bengal) on a monthly wage of Rs. 41/- which, together with dearness allowance and war bonus, amounted to Rs. 95/- per month. But look to the plight of Fakir Malik, Nirvoy Khelo and other small peasants of the same village: The former had to sell not only 1 bigha and 14 kathas of cultivable land but had also to dispose of a bamboo garden including a certain plot of paddy land for a sum of Rs. 80/-. Not only that; he sold utensils worth Rs. 50/-, a mango tree worth Rs. 4/2/-, a bedstead at Rs. 12/-, and so on. Again, Kamal Hazra of village Narullapara †who was an employee at the adjacent Fuleswar Cotton Mills on Rs. 20/- p.m. and received ration to the extent of 5 seers of rice and so on, was better off than even a middle peasant (Akul Hazra) of the same village, who not only sold out ornaments worth Rs. 406/8/-, and utensils worth Rs. 100/-, an old bullock at Rs. 8/-, and goats and trees and such other assets, but he had also to mortgage his homestead and the attached paddy land measuring 6 bighas (2 acres) with one Mrs. Bidyut Lata Mallik (a lady doctor) for Rs. 250/-.

§ 7. Industrial areas and City suburbs :

Therefore, after finishing his investigation in Akaipur Union †† which comprised a part of a surplus district, and which was almost as closed*** an economic centre as Madhabdi of Dacca District, the author felt the necessity of visiting rural areas around the industrial belt comprising Nadia (now Kushtia, E. Pakistan), and Hooghly and Howrah in W. Bengal. Then, another point occurred to him, namely, the necessity of studying rural economic conditions in areas which were near to the town, that is, not economically isolated, but, yet, far from factory or industrial areas. Accordingly, he selected Dandirhat and Fulbari, three or four miles off the Sub-divisional town of Basirhat in 24-Parganas, W. Bengal. Thus, in all,

*P. S. Kushtia; District Nadia (now District Kushtia of E. Pakistan).

**P. S. Serampore; District Hooghly, West Bengal, India.

†P. S. Uluberia: Dist. Howrah, W. Bengal.

††P. S. Bongaon, Dist. Jessore, now in 24-Parganas District of W. Bengal.

***That is, economically isolated.

he visited six districts and covered 49 villages; * in forty-six of these villages the families came to be surveyed on a random basis of selection; the three remaining villages were surveyed intensively, that is, in each case, the entire village was thoroughly covered from door to door. Thus a *complete census* of all the 222 families inhabiting Dandirhat and Fulbari was made; so also Narullapara consisting of 65 families and Pearapur inhabited by 167 families or 1158 persons were covered family by family.

*In all the cases except at the Gruel Kitchen of Madhabdi, the ease of access and ready local co-operation were the decisive factors in favour of the selection of the area.

CHAPTER II.

IN THE GRIP OF FAMINE.

§ 1. The Educated Middle Class :

In Chapter I. we have mentioned broadly the occupational groups that came across the author's way of investigation at Dacca. They are (1) Artisans, (2) Small Peasants, (3) Middle Peasants, (4) Petty Traders and (5) Agricultural Labourers. In course of surveying Dandirhat, however, he happened to study the economic effects of the Famine on the Educated Middle Class (E.M.C.) inhabiting the village. The E.M.C. includes those people who are educated and whose income is derived mainly from land or liberal profession of one type or another, and who bear the indubitable stamp of a particular manner of culture common to the intelligentsia of Bengal. School teachers, village doctors, *naibs* of *Zamindar's* Estates, personal assistants to pleaders, clerks employed at any office in any nearby town, accountants at any business firm or shop, *Jotdars* or tenure-holders—all these, broadly speaking, came within the purview of the study of the E.M.C. in rural areas. Therefore, the author has treated the E.M.C. as a group by itself. The people described as E. M.C. exhibit certain emotional peculiarities, and no student of Economics can afford to overlook these, if any fruitful and reliable data are to be collected from them. Be it noted that generally they would starve rather than beg, they prefer fasting to accepting things given in open charity; they would consent to die seven times, so to say, rather than be called 'poor' men; they are loath to disclose facts relating to their wants and distresses. What seems striking is that the lower middle class people, whom the author had the opportunity to study, seemed to have an amazing capacity for suffering and they appeared to be thoroughly permeated with a spirit of defiance against all odds of life. While at Dandirhat, and, again, at Akaiapur, it was found that the backbone of this once-spirited section of our population was breaking under the impact of economic distress. Thus, Mr. Janendra Nath Banerjee of Akaiapur and the members of his family could not manage two meals a day even in December, 1943, when the price of rice had fallen a little. During the months of acute distress, his children lived on the burnt "Bel" fruit by day and took half a meal of rice by night. He never told his neighbours about it. He had mortgaged his entire landed property for Rs. 100/- with the Jessore Land Mortgage Bank, sold out his only cow at Rs. 25/-. He had no other assets left except his neatly thatched cottage and his flower-garden. But being utterly reduced, he thought it wise to take a paddy loan amounting to Rs. 100/- from his neighbour, Mr. Amritamoy Mukherjee.

The case of Mr. Sudhir Kumar Bose of Dandirhat reveals the same tale of suffering that the E.M.C. in rural areas in Bengal have undergone during these stirring months of the famine. He got so many mouths to feed,—mother, wife, widowed sister, five nephews, all of whom were non-working dependents. He earned a monthly salary of Rs. 25/- as a school teacher:

Rs. 8/8/- as a Post Master in charge of the local Extra Departmental postal branch ; Rs. 10/- (on the average) by coaching students at the latter's homes. He had to sell out 2 bighas of land some time in the middle of 1943, and in October of the same year he sold $1\frac{1}{4}$ *katha* more for a nominal sum of Rs. 3 /-. He sold his wife's necklace at Rs. 115/- and bangle for Rs. 48/- . His debts with the grocer, milk-man, washerman, etc., came up to Rs. 300/- in December 1943—all incurred in order to defray family expenses during the months of the famine.

§ 2. "Widowed women" :

Different from the Educated Middle Class is another group to be named "widowed women". Normally, they variously pursued different economic activities, some selling fried-rice and some milk ; some were connected with the weaving industry ; some, again, had been deriving their incomes from produce-rent of Occupancy lands given out to share-croppers and so on. In the Madhabdi Area (Dacca) most of the widowed women (as, also, women having their husbands living) were found to be loom workers. Almost all of them were Muslim. They might have been classed as "Artisans" in recognition of their ability to work as bobbin-fitters, and helpmates in the work of warping, sizing, and winding the warp in the cotton handloom weaving industry of the locality. But let us place them within the group of "widowed women" simply because of the fact that in the absence (due to death) of the main earners of their families, that is, their husbands, they suffered from a manner of acute searing economic distress during the famine. Not only widows of the lower peasantry or artisan or petty trader class have suffered but even widows belonging to respectable families who had once been the proud wives of well-placed husbands, were denuded of all their family assets, fasted for days together and were ultimately reduced to beggary. Thus, Mrs. Kalikumari Ghosal of Akaipur (Jessore) who, some 17 years ago, left her husband's house at Ranaghat (Nadia) on the latter's death and came to her father's house at Akaipur with hard cash of Rs. 1800/- and ornaments worth several thousands of rupees and other assets, was a destitute and a virtual street beggar in December, 1943. On the eve of the famine she possessed ornaments worth Rs. 300/- to Rs. 400/-, some hard cash and utensils and a cow, and a bedstead, a garden consisting of bamboos and mango and cocoanut trees. But, in December, 1943, she had to her credit only a brass cooking pot, a drinking pot and some trees, but she owed a debt of Rs. 14/- to Rakhul Das Ghosh of Dwarikabashini, a neighbouring village.

The plight of widows coming of poorer families was simply shocking. Thus, in the village of Narullapara alone, out of a total population of 65 families, 28 families whose main earners in 1943 had all been widows, were rendered helpless beggars, all sick, starving and homeless ; homeless because they had to sell their thatched huts bit by bit as fuel in the Banibon bazar to defray their precarious daily expenses. The majority of the widows belonging to Narullapara, Pearapur and Dandihat, that is, those living near to Calcutta, flocked to the City around free gruel kitchens, and stayed there over a period of 15 to 90 days. The whole set of widows at

Chheurey * including Samiron Bibi, Kobiron Bibi, and others who normally earned their bread by making baskets at piece rates out of reeds imported from (South Bengal) Sunderbans area, had got to live by begging during famine months of 1943. This happened somewhat in the following manner : These widows of the poorer Muslim families were, as a rule, earners themselves. Before the onset of the famine they had earned and had at least one full meal by day and a light one by night. But as the famine came, their income shrank as their employers themselves were adversely affected. With this reduced income they could not cope with their wants, for the price of rice was soaring higher and higher ; at a later stage they were thrown completely out of employment and this served to drive them into the street as beggars, even at a time when they were eager and able to serve to eke out a living.

Thus, all the 16 widows (loom workers) of the Madhabdi area whose economic condition was examined, very strongly pleaded that they were quite willing to work even on a reduced scale of wages, but none seemed willing to give them jobs. The fact, however, remains that many among their erstwhile employers (e.g., weavers and other classes of artisans) were unable, though willing, to provide employment for them. So far as the Madhabdi area is concerned, this can be explained by the fact that the hand-loom industry, which, for most of the people, was the main avenue of employment in that locality, had suffered a serious set-back owing to food scarcity and paucity of yarn.

On this point, namely, in respect of the Cotton Handloom Weaving Industry, which originally formed the main subject of the author's investigation, certain interesting data were available. Some of them are utilised here.

§3. Weavers :

Be it noted here that for the purpose of this volume, we proceed to study the effects of the famine on weavers under a threefold classification : —(1) Weavers who owned looms of their own ; (2) Weavers who were loomless but who worked on hire at a weaver-employer's loom ; and (3) those who could not weave but were intimately associated with some aspect or another of the industry, namely, as assistants in respect of dyeing the yarn, in sizing it, in warping, or, winding the warp, in calendering the fabric woven and, finally, in regular marketing of the piece goods.

In Part IV of this volume, the section on Handloom Weavers† reveals the fact that between April, 1943, and October, 1943, the extent of weekly profit per warp of 600 cubits varied between Rs. 25/8/- (in the minimum) and Rs. 52/12/9 pies (in the maximum). Corresponding figures for the pre-war period had been Rs. 11/- and Rs. 30/- respectively. Thus, the increment of profit between April and October, 1943, in comparison with the rate prevailing in the pre-war period was by 76% to 131.82%** But, the corresponding increment in the price of rice (which alone constitutes about 3/4ths of family expenses even in normal times) was to the tune of 1200%

* P. S. Kumarkhali ; District Nadia, (now Kushtia in E. Pakistan).

†Part IV, §9, table B (iii).

**Ibid. table C.

in October, 1943, in relation to the price of rice in the pre-war period. And the average price increase between April and October, 1943, was of the order of 700 to 800%.† The net result was that the rate at which profit or earning increased lagged far behind the rate at which the price of rice, the main element in the family budget, increased. The situation was such that those weavers who, on the eve of the famine, had just lived from hand to mouth, found themselves in a precarious position as the famine conditions developed and family expenses continued to mount up (x). Their income was too meagre even for maintaining their own families; if, in addition, they had to employ 'Karigars' (loom operators employed on cash wages and food), as most of them surely had to, for keeping business (weaving) going on, then, evidently, they were to run a losing concern. This they did for some months between April and October, 1943, incurring recurring deficits and increasingly eating up their working capital, and ultimately, they got themselves involved in debts more and more (xx). Those weavers whose resources were smaller in comparison with their better-placed compeers had even to sell out or mortgage their capital assets. Thus, Amaresh Debnath of Algi sold one of his "Hattersley" looms at Rs. 250/-. Kshitish Chandra De of village Brahman Baniadi sold away one out of two "Chittaranjan" looms that he had possessed. Girish Debnath of Algi mortgaged his only loom ("Chittaranjan") for Rs. 100/-. More substantial among the weavers such as Sirajuddoulah, Ramcharan Saha of Algi village and Wazzaddi Meer of Baluehar village faced fewer troubles in the sense that they had not to sell away or mortgage their looms but were simply forced to keep them idle, while they fell back upon income from other sources, such as agriculture and yarn business. It was found that between April and October 1943, out of 31 looms, 2 were sold out, one mortgaged, 12 lay completely idle and 16 were worked full time.* Thus, roughly 51 per cent alone of the looms were worked between April and October, 1943. Section eleven (§ 11) of Part IV of this volume, that is, the account of income and expenditure of some weavers, throws a flood of light on the extent of indebtedness of the weavers of Madhabdi area during famine months. It also explains the extent to which capital stood depleted as a direct result of the famine. Thus, Ramcharan Saha, Kismat Ali, Wazzaddi Meer had eaten up their working capital to the extent of Rs. 400/-, Rs. 1000/- and Rs. 1125/- respectively, between the months of April and October, 1943.

The weavers at Fulbari, Dandirhat, in 24 Parganas (W. Bengal), were even worse off than those at Madhabdi area of E. Pakistan, for, out of a total number of 31 looms in the whole village, 4 had already been sold out and all the rest were found to lie idle in December, 1943.**

§ 4. Carpenters :

The position was equally discouraging so far as other sections of the "Artisan" class were concerned; the carpenters, for example, sold away their tools and changed their profession. From carpenters they were becom-

† *Ibid*, tables D, E & F.

(x) Part IV, § 10. (xx) *Ibid*, § 11.

* For details, vide Part IV, § 5, tables 1 & 2.

** Part III, § 5 below.

ing day labourers, or what was worse, even beggars. Madar Mistry of Fulbari sold away all his tools, viz., saw, hammer, the tool box for Rs. 150/-, and all his wooden planks, etc., at Rs. 200/-. Even he sold out his house along with homestead land at Rs. 75/-. He became a homeless beggar in four months' time in that critical year ending 1943.

§ 5. Potters :

The plight of potters was no better. Anil Pal of Dandirhat sold away 15 *kathas* of land together with his dwelling house, i.e., his entire homestead for Rs. 150/-. He sold, in addition, ornaments and utensils worth Rs. 40/- and incurred a debt of Rs. 16/-. Similarly, Giridhar Pal of Akaipur, was a half-starved man suffering from blood dysentery resulting from fasting and eating non-edibles ; and, he ran into a debt totalling about Rs. 40/- and mortgaged the little assets he possessed, such as, utensils. The cause of their suffering is not far to seek : the price of rice rose disproportionately higher than that of the commodities they produced. On average, while the price of rice rose from 8 to 14 times the pre-famine period, the price of earthen pitchers and jars, etc., only doubled itself during the same period. So the real income decreased and they fasted.

§ 6. Petty Traders :

The class that has been called "Petty Traders" bore the brunt of the famine to no less a degree. They lay prostrate and were ruined economically. The little capital that they usually invested in their business was too meagre to yield any decent income ; the income proved too inadequate for purposes of family expenses even in normal times, with the result that they had been more often in debt than not. During the months of the famine, therefore, not only did their debts multiply, but they ate up all their working capital, in addition to selling almost the whole of their family assets. Khoka Mondal of village Kamalapur (Kushtia in E. Pakistan) was a case in point. He was a grocer. He started in June, 1943, with a capital of Rs. 500/-, of which Rs. 240/- was used up to meet household expenditure during the famine months (June—October, 1943) ; commodities worth about Rs. 230/- were sold on credit to his famine-stricken customers out of his running business capital. In addition, he sold gold at Rs. 45/- ; 20 tolas of silver at Rs. 15/- and utensils at Rs. 10/-. He had only one cooking and two drinking pots left in November, 1943, and about Rs. 30/- as carry-over of the capital of his business. Certain typical instances may, again, be cited here from among the petty traders at Dandirhat of 24 Parganas. Manik Roy used up his capital amounting to Rs. 125/-, sold 2 bighas of cultivable land at Rs. 196/-, two cows at Rs. 126/-, utensils at Rs. 5/-, trees at Rs. 9/- and incurred a debt of Rs. 50/- in famine months. In November, 1943, he had no land, no homestead, no assets left any more. So, also, was the case with Haripada Biswas, a confectioner, who disposed of 16 *kathas* of land at Rs. 150/- ; various items of furniture and ornaments were mortgaged for Rs. 60/- at an interest of eight annas per month. Loans outstanding in his name in late November, 1943, was to the extent of Rs. 160/-. He had only $\frac{1}{4}$ bigha of homestead left in his possession. Take, again, the case of Thakur Chand Karigar, a muslim vegetable seller of Fulbari. He had sold 5 *kathas* from his homestead land at Rs. 40/- (25 *kathas* being already leased out), ornament worth Rs. 20/-,

windows at Rs. 150/-, mango trees at Rs. 12/- and had run into a debt of Rs. 10/- in cash before he himself died of starvation. Two more mango trees could be seen standing athwart on the premises of the man who was no' more.

§ 7. "Small peasants" :

The "small peasantry" which really forms the back-bone of Rural Bengal was facing wholesale economic collapse. Scores upon scores of the small peasants that the author had the occasion to examine, sold away their homesteads, lands and cattle, and became landless labourers or homeless beggars.

The manner in which land transference in different rural areas in Bengal took place, may by itself form an interesting subject of economic enquiry. In the areas that were visited, between September and December, 1943, the degree to which the sale and mortgage of land increased seemed to be, though not staggering, yet striking, indeed. Thus, in Pearapur, Hooghly (W. Bengal), out of 57 families owning land, 8 sold away at least portions of their cultivable holdings. But compare with this the figures given in the following passage (vide 20th issue, Vol. ii of the 'People's War', an English Weekly paper of India) : "in Nilphamari (Rangpur) the number of the sale-deeds was 11,915 during the last three months as against 4,368 last year. In Narayanganj, daily 150 to 195 sales or mortgages were registered as against the normal 10 to 15. In Pabna in October 6,530 transfers took place and the daily average has now reached 100. The land is passing from the peasants to the village rich. The rich are becoming richer and the poor poorer".

The results of the author's investigations are, on the whole, not different from the above conclusions. But what is interesting is that lands from the small, or, in some cases, middle peasants have, on the whole, passed less to the richer peasants than to the richer trading class, businessmen and well-placed office-employees of the same village, and sometimes of neighbouring villages or towns. Thus, in Pearapur the mortgagees of cultivable land and homestead land both of Mrityunjoy Majhi and Balai Chandra Ghorui, were a trader and an office employee respectively. One Mr. Anadi Chakrabarty of Baidyabati who was said to be an employee of Martin & Co. was himself the buyer of the land both of Panchu Khelo and Nirvoy Khelo. Akul Hazra's land and homestead (Narullapara, Howrah District) were mortgaged to a lady doctor. The buyer of Basudev's 4 bighas of land at Rs. 350/- (Dandirhat, 24-Parganas) was Upen Babu, a co-villager and an office-employee.

But in the case of land-sale effected by Muslim peasants of Fulbari (24-Parganas) the buyers were mostly the richer peasants of the same village. Thus, Bellal Mistry bought Eklal Mistri's land at Rs. 50/-. The mortgagees of Samsuddi Gazi, Madar Gazi and of Himchand Gazi were, again, all neighbouring peasants. Hamizuddi Gazi and Kodu Molla were the buyers respectively of the lands of Kasimuddi Mistri (16 *kattas* at Rs. 160/-) and Binode Mistri (22.5 *kattas* at Rs. 130/-). In village Nagarpura-Beharia (now in Kushtia District of E. Pakistan) the buyers of the land belonging to Jiban Pramanik as well as to Judhisthir Sikdar, were richer peasants.

The picture that can be drawn regarding the small peasants that were surveyed in the year 1943 is very gloomy, to say the least.

Consider the sad plight of the peasantry at Dandirhat. Madan Gazi, Himchand Ghazi, Mangal Ghazi, Kochin Mistry, Safatullah Mistry, Benode Mistry—all of them sold out their homesteads varying from 5 kattas to one bigha at Rs. 30/- to Rs. 80/-. Madan Mistry sold out 4 bighas of land while Karamullah Duffadar mortgaged all his cultivable land for Rs. 150/-.

Similarly, many of the peasants at Pearapur (Hooghly) sold out all their assets including homestead land, furniture and utensils they had. Thus, Fakir Malik sold one bigha and 14 kattas of cultivable land. Dinanath Das sold 2 bighas and 10 Kattas, Mohadeb Middey sold out 2 bighas at Rs. 125/- and wife of Bipin Middey sold out a similar plot at a similar price. Panchanan Middey sold 1.5 bighas at Rs. 75/. Again, Panchu Khelo disposed of 4 bighas of cultivable land at a price of Rs. 185/. Nirbhoy Khelo sold 25 kattas of land at Rs. 164/. Mritunjoy Majhi mortgaged his homestead including houses and land for Rs. 600/, the mortgagee being Siddeswari Dasi of Sheoraphuli. It is to be observed here that on enquiry it was found that the people felt constrained (and it was common sense, too) to sell their homestead and cultivable lands only when no other alternative was left open to them. At the beginning was the turn of house-hold utensils and then other miscellaneous items, then ornaments, and then furniture, till, at last, the peasants were compelled to dispose of their cultivable lands and, ultimately, the homestead and the house itself.

§ 8. "Middle peasants".

The purpose of distinguishing "middle peasants" from "small peasants" is, to show that they, too, did not go unscathed. In Nadia District (now Kushtia District) in the village of Nagarpara-Beharia, they had to face great difficulties. Thus, Jibon Krishna Pramanik mortgaged 2.5 bighas of land for Rs. 60/-, 1.5 bigha for Rs. 30/-, sold out both his ploughs and 3 bullocks at Rs. 45/-, Rs. 55/- and Rs. 17/- only. Two rooms made of corrugated tin sheets were sold at Rs. 52/-, cows at Rs. 100/-, and ornaments at Rs. 150/-. The whole of the mortgaged land which he had so long held 'Khas' passed out of his hands to the creditor having the usufruct, and in 1943, he had to abandon the cultivation of 'Barga' (share-cropped) land equal to 17 bighas simply for the lack of equipment and loss of implements. Equally miserable was the condition of Judhistir Sikdar of the same village. Other middle peasants such as Bhadu Mondal, Motilal Sarkar, Basanta Kumar Sarkar and others were more or less adversely affected.

The 'middle peasants' at Harishankerpur (Kushtia, E. Pakistan) such as Kochhinuddi Mistry who owned and cultivated 30 bighas of land, Rasik Khan, Rahaman Paramanick, Haibat Mondal, Dulu Sheik and so on,—were rather better off than their compeers in other districts. For example, Akul Hazra of Narullapara (Howrah District of W. Bengal) whose case has been referred to above; Hamizuddin Mistry of Dandirhat and Zabel Ali Mia of Gadarchar in Dacca, revealed symptoms of extreme suffering. Section two (§ 2) both in Part III and Part IV of this volume will show how they suffered from rigours of the famine. Hamizuddin Mistry, for instance, sold 7 bighas of land at a nominal price of Rs. 125/- and one bigha more at

Rs. 30/-, 3.5 bighas of land including a pond at Rs. 58/-. All this happened at the beginning of the famine. Then, during the last few months of 1943, he sold the remaining plot of his cultivable land measuring 16 kattas at Rs. 100/-; again 2.5 bighas at Rs. 50/- and he was rendered homeless after selling his homestead including the house at Rs. 125/-; his son killed himself by hanging in order to avoid, once for all, the pangs of starvation; and one of Hamizuddin's brothers died of actual fasting!

Thus, the condition of the peasantry except in certain surplus areas was anything but satisfactory; in some places, however, certain peasants were saved from utter ruination by the fact that they managed to pick up some alternative employment. Thus, as already mentioned, the peasants in industrial areas who had jobs in local factories were able somehow to get through.

§ 9. Factory Workers :

But this does not imply that factory employment by itself did have the peculiar merit of saving lives from death or preventing destitution; for example, the ordinary mill hands (who were mostly landless people) in different parts of the many districts the author visited, were no better than other people with other occupations. It was found that almost all the 23 or 24 families that were examined from among the mill workers in three different districts, had to sell out all their assets including cultivable land, if any, and home-stead. Thus, Yakoob Mandal of Harishankarpur (Kushtia) sold 1.25 bigha of land at Rs. 82/8/- and another plot of 16 kattas at Rs. 40/-. Two cows and a goat were sold at Rs. 35/-, ornaments at Rs. 60/-. utensils at Rs. 20/- and bamboos at Rs. 12/-. He and his family suffered because his income was low but prices were high. A monthly wage of Rs. 30/- to Rs. 35/- which was all that his income comprised, could not help him in successfully grappling with starvation. Arsad Mandol of Chhenrey was a solitary exception: he went unscathed through those difficult days. The reason is that he used to earn Rs. 80/- to Rs. 90/- a month, got ration, had basket-making as a by-occupation, and above all, he was a jobber, earning a commission of Rs. 10/- for recruiting for the local factory such number of weaving hands as would together earn Rs. 100/-. Instead of suffering, he rather prospered and the proof lies in that he raised a corrugated tin house in the midst of wide-spread starvation and want all around, and bought 10 kattas of land!

§ 10. Agricultural Labourers :

But this is only a solitary exception and if it proves anything, it serves to prove the rule, namely, the ruling distress. All the other 22 or 23 mill-hands that were examined suffered badly, as badly perhaps as Yakoob did. But the condition of day-labourers or agricultural labourers, as distinct from factory labourers, was even worse. They earned less, got no job, fasted and suffered, fell ill and died like dogs and cats. The dead bodies were not buried or burnt. Those among them who died slowly and lay prostrate, their bodies had been actually torn to pieces by jackals and vultures even before their lamp of life was put out.

CHAPTER III.

RESUME'

§ 1. The Consequences :

AN AVALANCHE!

From the investigations that were made into the economic condition of people in rural areas, the author is convinced that the rural economic life in those parts of Bengal where he went received a tremendous set-back,—all due to the famine and resultant mal-adjustments. The famine came like an avalanche, smashing the whole economic structure and snapping the entire social fabric. Certain classes of people, as for example, certain Hindu Scheduled castes like *Bagdi*, *Buno*, *Kacra*, *Moochi*, *Malo*, and to some extent, the economic classes like Masons and Carpenters were on the point of total extinction. Once these castes in Hindu society served well the purpose of *division of labour*. Gradually, however, caste barriers broke down; but, economically, these groups helped the survival of certain home-crafts in rural areas. Villages do not stand to gain if they are wiped out, nor does the Bengalee race as it stands to-day.

§ 2. Death and Epidemic :

In consequence of the Famine and the resulting starvation, countless persons collapsed; many others who somehow survived suffered from untold hardship; in fact, the entire cross-section of the nation that the author happened to examine groped, suffered and groaned. During the aftermath of the Famine, the suffering of the people did not abate appreciably, for, in the wake of starvation came epidemic. Fasting and undernourishment, disease and physical disablement, epidemic and destitution, want and unemployment or under-employment, high-prices and black-market,—all this that the famine heaped upon the people, caused the foundation of the entire economic life of the areas visited to crack up visibly. Countless wage-hours have been lost due to untimely death of the active workers. Wherever the author has gone, death rate has seemed to be appalling; * the vital statistics collected from Union Boards in some of the areas visited, will give comparative, though not actual, figures because of wrong entries of deaths made in different seasons in the localities concerned. ** From the statement of the people of village Pearapur, it appears that as against the normal rate of 10 to 12 deaths in other years, 1943 recorded a figure as high as 53. In Narullapara of Howrah District there was not a single family that escaped death. In Panchu Hazra's family alone, as many as five members died, and Mangala Dasi lost four members of her family during September—October of the year. The total number of deaths came up to 103 in Narullapara in these two months of 1943, although the Union Board officially

* Vide Appendix VI, Part III for W. Bengal and Appendix V, Part IV for E. Pakistan.

** Vide Appendix V, Part III (W. Bengal) and App. IV, Part IV (E. Pakistan).

recorded only 45 deaths during the same period. In Chheurey Mondalpara out of 750 persons 44 died out. An analysis of the figures of death shows an abnormal infant mortality and the mortality of able-bodied men and of mothers at the reproductive age. This augurs ill for the future of the country.

§ 3. Social consequences :

In 4 villages of W. Bengal where 465 families were surveyed, 32 families or about 6.9% of the total were found to have been completely wiped out. If, however, we work out the proportion on the basis of all the 9 villages covered and all the 473 families surveyed in different parts of W. Bengal, the proportion of families getting wholly extinct stands out at 6.8%. Similarly, in 5 villages of E. Pakistan where 144 families were surveyed, 16 families or about 11.1% of the total were wiped out. If, however, we include all the 40 villages and 506 families that were covered in E. Pakistan as a whole, the proportion decreases and stands out at 3.2%*

So much for the extinction of families—a baneful after-effect of the famine. There were a good many other evil consequences, such as, divorce, **prostitution, ***joint families disintegrating****—all of which proves that the famine of 1943 produced very bad results on the social life in general and family life in particular, in the rural areas surveyed.

§ 4. Author's Observations :

The author does not claim that his conclusions would have universal application over the entire areas of the then W. Bengal or E. Pakistan as a provincial unit as such. But he does claim that they should apply over the whole range of the economic life of the areas covered, and may just indicate the trend of events taking place elsewhere in the two Bengals during the same period.

§ 5. Field Work :

The field-work, such as that undertaken by the author can never be complete, specially the type that was pursued in the rural areas. Many more districts and scores of other villages have, of course, since been surveyed; and, only when the marshalling of the whole set of data collected has been completed, can any perfect and irrefutable conclusion be drawn so as to be

*Vide Appendix VII, Part III, for West Bengal and App. VI, Part IV, for East Pakistan. The above percentage calculations are subject to the probable error that may result from the population bias inevitable in connection with Gruel Kitchen samples. But in our case, Sub-section (A) of Appendix VI, Part IV, that is, the samples picked up at Madhabdi (Dacca of E. Pakistan) alone contain such a bias as the figures were collected from the local Gruel Kitchen. Data collected from other parts of E. Pakistan or W. Bengal are, however, free from this bias as the *complete census* method was applied in the villages concerned. Even so, it should be remembered that the author generally visited these areas which offered easy access and the opportunity of local co-operation in survey work. So, as the selection of villages could not be properly randomised, the percentages worked out in this volume do not apply either to E. Pakistan or W. Bengal as a whole. They are, however, true of the localities visited.

**Vide Appendix II, Part IV, for E. Pakistan.

***Vide Appendix III, Part IV, for E. Pakistan and App. IV, Part III, for W. Bengal.

**** Vide Appendix I, Part IV, for E. Pakistan, and App. III, Part III, for W. Bengal.

applicable over both the provinces of contemporary Bengal.* Field-work, be it noted, has got certain peculiar disadvantages in the sense that the villagers invariably fight shy of a stranger. They are extremely suspicious about the 'Baboos' from towns. Their first obvious reaction is to take the visitor as a "Sarkari" (official) agent who is feared and hated much. But, once you win their confidence as a fellow-patriot of theirs, they open their hearts to you. But, even then, a difficulty is faced : at the time of investigation and filling up the enquiry Forms on the spot, sometimes they tend to exaggerate their sufferings ; sometimes they fail to remember and narrate all about their private woes and losses and distresses. Patient questioning and cross-examination coupled with sympathy and tact can, however, largely overcome the difficulties of a field-worker.

§6. A plea for rural survey :

But, whatever be the disadvantages or otherwise of the field-work, it is worth one's while and it should be the duty of scholars and patriots and of the University and, above all, of the Government to pursue steadily and thoroughly the work of rural investigation so as to develop agrarian survey as a means of scientific social research. As to the Methods and Objects of rural survey, however, we revert to it in the next Chapter.

*Readers are in this connection referred to the Reports of the Famine Inquiry Commission (1945) and the book 'Famine & Rehabilitation (1946) by P. C. Mahalanobis & others.

PART II.

METHODS AND OBJECTS OF RURAL SURVEY.

§ 1. Importance of rural survey :

In India and Pakistan, as in many other countries of the world, the people today are faced with a number of vitally important socio-economic problems. They feel these problems must needs be solved. It is, however, one thing to feel vaguely about our needs in a general way and quite another to realise concretely the nature of the problems in precise terms. For a correct understanding of the real economic issues, it is necessary to investigate into the actual facts of life.

Plans for the future development of the rural areas, for instance, must, in this country, as elsewhere, be based on correct informations. But who will supply these correct informations? Rural Survey undertaken on a sufficiently large scale and in an adequately scientific manner alone can furnish the data on the basis of which all our plans for rural reconstruction may be ultimately prepared. It has been rightly pointed out, economic surveys "assist in building up a methodology and technique of economic enquiries which can be applied promptly and effectively in all economic investigations." For purposes of formulation and execution of our development plans they are indispensable.

Scientific survey as a means of social research in S.E. Asia and in many other countries of the world has come into being only very recently. The spectacular development of industries in the urban areas of the United States, for instance, led to a phenomenal exodus of the people from the rural areas and to a disintegration of the rural economy, and the accentuation of the anti-thesis between the town and the countryside. A movement was thus launched for ascertaining the real facts and for suggesting the future course of action accordingly. Rural surveys, therefore, began to be undertaken by experts in that country both under official supervision and on private initiative.

In the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent the Royal Commission on Agriculture (1927) stressed the need for correct and detailed informations regarding the objective situation in the rural areas, and for this purpose rural survey was recommended as the only dependable source of accurate data. But very limited and merely sporadic attempts have so far been made to undertake first-hand study of the rural economic problems of India and Pakistan. The organisation of relevant statistics has as yet remained the monopoly of the administrators of the land who have very little of the special equipment for a branch of enquiry that is every day becoming more and more precise and specialised. The published data are, therefore, not only inadequate, but undependable, too. The method of compilation of the available data also is stereotyped, and unplanned, and the official questionnaire, that is, the forms of official statistical enquiries often are such that they practically exclude valuable information that is indispensable in the light of recent developments, or lack of developments, in the agrarian economy of India

or Pakistan. The crowning disadvantage for a writer on Agronomics is, however, the complete unreliability of the data that are collected and published. In most cases these are make-believe figures whose source proves to be, in the ultimate analysis, the illiterate village *Chowkidar's* (watchman's) personal prejudices and inclinations, trimmed and buttressed, of course, by convenient check-up at the desk of the local officials' conservative head-clerks or personal assistants.

§ 2. A chronicle of attempts at first-hand study of rural economic problems in pre-partition India :

While there remains in the official quarters an unlimited scope for the planning and organisation of statistics, individual initiative or private non-official endeavours to organise economic research from a statistical-economic approach has remained a long-felt want. Investigations by private bodies in obedience to an official fiat or subsidised by, or in support of, a vested interest are, however, to be discouraged. Independence of outlook and disinterestedness must be the code of procedure for all research scholars. Perhaps, the beginning of such an independent attempt at the first-hand study of rural problems in India was made by Colonel Read in his maiden survey in 1792-99 about family budgets, cost of agricultural farming, system of cropping, etc., at Baramahal in Salem district of the present Madras Presidency. Col. Read's investigation was an isolated experiment in the field, and it was followed by a long gap of over a century, after which we have Mr. J. C. Jack's Survey of Faridpur District in Bengal (now in East Pakistan) between 1906 and 1910—an undoubtedly magnificent pioneer work, if not for anything else, at least for the magnitude of the scale of operations involved. His enterprise has naturally received the most liberal appreciation and has elicited its full quota of praise from almost all writers of any worth, on rural economy of India, and even the Royal Commission of Agriculture (1927) made anxious enquiries into the fate of the hitherto unpublished records of Mr. Jack's Survey.

Mr. Provash Chandra Pathak's publication entitled : "The Economic Survey of My Native Village" which appeared in the then *Bengal Economic Journal*, was a first-hand investigation into the economic condition of his co-villagers in Midnapore district of West Bengal in 1916. Dr. Gilbert Slater, then Professor of Economics of the University of Madras made his pupils undertake an economic survey of twelve villages in the Presidency in 1916-17. Nine of these villages were re-surveyed in the middle of the thirties under the guidance of Professor P. J. Thomas of the same University. Meanwhile, Dr. H. H. Mann, Director of Agriculture, Bombay, conducted an economic investigation in "A Poona Village" in 1917 which was supplemented by a study by the same author of the "Land and Labour in a Deccan Village" in 1921.

The Punjab Board of Economic Enquiry, which was established in 1919, has done some useful work towards promoting direct and primary rural economic investigation, and has brought out nearly one hundred reports on a variety of subjects, such as, Size and Distribution of Holdings in the Punjab, Different Systems of Farming in Canal Colonies, Farm Accounts in the Punjab, Punjab Village Surveys, etc.

Dr. Radhakamal Mukherjee's monumental work, "Land Problems of India" was published in 1933 and set the research worker in the allied field to serious thinking. His other works including the "Rural Economy of India" also merit respectful mention. Of the other important works by other writers the following are noteworthy :—Keatinge's "Rural Economy of the Bombay Deccan"; Dr. J. M. Mehta's "Rural Economy of the Gujarat"; Saha's "Economics of Rural Bengal"; Darling's "Punjab Peasant in Prosperity and Debt"; Dr. Qureshi's "The Farmer and his Debt"; B. B. Mukherjee's "Agricultural Marketing in India"; Mukhtyar's "Life and Labour in a Gujarat Village"; Ranade's "Survey of a Konkan Village"; Kumarappa's "Survey of Matar Taluka"; Dr. Bhagat's "Farmer—His Wealth and Welfare"; Dr. Gadgil's "Survey of Farm Business in Wai Taluka," and so on.

The field researches of Mr. N. G. Ranga which were published under the title of "Economic Organisation of Indian Villages", Vol. I (1926) and Vol. II (1929), have also promoted statistical and inductive research into economic problems. A solid effort was also made by the Visva-Bharati Institute of Rural Reconstruction at Shantiniketan, Bengal. The book entitled "Land and its Problems" (1943) by Dr. Sudhir Sen is an attempt at a systematic study of the conditions of agriculture in fifteen villages of Birbhum District. Dr. S. G. Panandikar's "The Wealth and Welfare of the Bengal Delta" is, strictly speaking, not a study in the statistical method. It appears to have been based less on figures collected first-hand, than on Reports on Settlement and Survey Operations in the Districts concerned.

Besides these major works of research there are works of minor nature which have, from time to time, been published by a host of other writers in the form of pamphlets and in current periodicals. The Bengal Board of Economic Enquiry, for example, made half-hearted attempts at studying economic problems of Bengal Districts and published pamphlets (1934) of which only three pamphlets on Faridpur, Bankura and Pabna districts are available. "Some Bengal Villages" edited by Messrs. Bhattacharya and Nateson is altogether a weak demonstration of the statistical method of first-hand rural investigation.

These first-hand studies in rural economies may appear to be quite extensive as sources of further enquiry; but in comparison with what is needed, what has been done is very meagre. True, some of them are quite excellent pieces of research, capable of serving as a sound basis for further research and policy-making. But what is required is a more co-ordinated effort for economic and sociological survey in the rural areas with more definitely chalked-out objects of practical planning. The Indian Statistical Institute has been rendering yeoman's service in this regard.

§ 3. A note on rural surveys in Pakistan :

Special mention may be made of a number of important rural surveys which have so far been conducted in those areas of the Indian subcontinent which to-day come within the boundaries of Pakistan. In East Pakistan, the first important rural survey, as said above, was made by Mr. J. C. Jack between the years 1906 and 1910. The intensive survey which he conducted in the district of Faridpur is, as we have already seen, of immense interest to the students of later generations who followed in his footsteps. Unfortunately, however, much of the fruits of his labour remain as yet unpublished.

Another important rural survey was undertaken by Dr. Panandikar in the year 1921 in the seven districts of East Pakistan and his researches were published under the title "Wealth and Welfare of the Bengal Delta". In 1926 Mr. Burrows conducted a debt survey in the village of Talma in the Faridpur District. In 1929, the Bengal Banking Enquiry Committee made an intensive investigation into the problems of agricultural credit and indebtedness in the village of Karimpur in the Bogra District. Another enquiry was carried out by the Bengal Board of Economic Enquiry in the year 1934 and they published a number of pamphlets of which two printed pamphlets, one on Pabna and another on Faridpur, are still available. In 1936, economic enquiries were made in course of the revised Settlement Operations in the District of Rangpur. In 1940-42, again, there were held revised Settlement Operations and enquiries into the family budgets of 3000 families in the Faridpur District. In 1944, a number of villages was surveyed under the direction and leadership of Mr. Ishaque, I.C.S., whose results were published in the volume entitled "Bengal Crop Survey" (1944) which was a survey of 77 Random villages in Undivided Bengal, and contained Plot to Plot Enumeration of survey results. In 1944-46, the present author made an intensive sample survey in the Faridpur District with a view to ascertaining the changes, if any, in the economic status of the people in that district since Jack's time. The above researches, if utilised fully by the planners of the national economy of E. Pakistan, may thus serve as a good basis for the supply of data for future planning.

The first important survey in the western sector of Pakistan was conducted by Mr. Darling who published his book entitled, "The Punjab Peasant in Prosperity and Debt" in the year 1926. Between the years 1919 and 1930, the Punjab Board of Economic Enquiry made an extensive survey and published the fruits of research in a number of pamphlets some of which are still available. The only important rural survey so far known to have been conducted during the post-partition period was that undertaken by Dr. Ali Asghar Khan, a Professor of Lyallpur College, in 1949, in three villages in West Punjab where the problem of rural labour and wages were somewhat thoroughly examined.

§ 4. The object of rural survey :

The defects of the rural surveys so far made in India and Pakistan lie not merely in the fact that they are meagre, but also that they are mostly of a piece-meal and empirical nature. Very few of them are "designed as a part of a bigger or comprehensive survey of rural life in all its aspects." All our future surveys must necessarily be carried out on the basis of a thorough investigation into the facts of daily life over a considerable period of time. Not assumptions and guess-work but an objective study of facts in all their bearings on rural life should be the aim and object of our survey.

What has to be remembered in this connection has been expressed clearly by one writer in the following words.* "They (the rural surveys) have to be descriptive, analytical, statistical, exploratory and explanatory, diagnostic, comparative, but above all they have to be creative, reconstructive, permeated with the urge and objective of refashioning and remaking, revitalising Rural life." "The cause and the result of a rural survey, the

* Vide Vaswani's Article in the India Journal of Agricultural Economics.

justification and upshot of a rural survey, the root and fruit of a rural survey, is and must be a Rural Plan. And, of course, the root and fruit of a Rural Plan must be Rural Welfare." The writer further points out that the rural surveys in this country should be carried out on a line which is slightly different from the line accepted by the Western experts. "The rural survey in India was to be a sympathetic, suggestive, a reconstructive survey, not merely exploratory but explanatory, reformative and reconstructive, indicating the channels for change, the agencies for reform, and also discovering the vital springs of reform and renaissance in the rural areas." From experience the writer found out that it was not enough merely to be "inquisitive and analytical." "They had to survey not merely the face of economic problems but to examine their roots in the social fabric of rural society :....."

§5. Desiderata of an economic survey :

There are certain factors of essential nature that have to be borne in mind before any economic survey is actually started. They have been specifically mentioned by Dr. D. K. Malhotra in his article read at the 7th Conference of the Indian Society of Agricultural Economics held at Karachi in December, 1946. They are : (i) choice of the subject or problem ; (ii) selection of the investigator ; (iii) choice of the method ; (iv) adequate and continuous supervision and (v) preparation of an estimate of the probable expenditure.

§6. Subjects of enquiry :

The subjects of enquiry and research may be of a general or of a particular nature. About the types of survey we will be discussing presently. So far as the particular problems are concerned the following are of very great importance and have been adequately studied in some of the countries of the West. These are the general economic conditions of any particular area, locality or a country ; relative economy of different enterprises ; production method, practices and equipment ; factors affecting farm profits ; forms of land tenures and factors of production-relations ; classification of areas by type of production ; the cost of living, standard of living, movements of population, etc.

§7. The Procedure :

It is essential for a research worker to be very clear about the object in view and he must decide upon the essential facts which have got to be studied. In order to get at the necessary informations, he must have to prepare a questionnaire, which should be precise, detailed and properly arranged. The questions must be arranged in an order in which each question follows logically from the answers of previous questions. Questions which are of general and less personal character should come first and should be followed by questions which are more personal in character and which are concerned with money matters. "Questions must be simple, clear, well-defined and easily understood. Each question must be complete in itself leaving no room for vagueness. It is always best to have questions which can be easily answered by 'yes' or 'no' or by a single figure or mark".

It should be remembered that in order to extract any accurate and useful data from the suspicious, yet simple, village folk, the investigator must not only have infinite patience, energy and tact, but he must command

the manner and address of a dignified gentleman, frank yet firm, simple yet intelligent. Earnestness and simplicity of personal habits, together with unbounded sympathy for the rural poor and for the particular class about which enquiries are being made, are the key to winning the confidence of the people interviewed. In fact, the attitude of the investigator must be one of humility and of service to the people or the nation.

Then, again, on entering a village the investigator must not rush to put questions or to commit anything to writing. All haste is to be avoided. To mix with the villagers, to sit and gossip with them, and to become one among them,—these are the only sure steps to inspire trust in them. After a preliminary familiarity has grown, he should start stray talks on stray economic and social affairs regarding the village. He will have to explain ceaselessly the object of his visit. Statements given individually by persons should be checked up later in the midst of the group meetings of villagers and also by approaching, if possible, the reporter's next-door neighbours who are likely to know his conditions. The villagers must be gently but severely cross-examined by the investigator and mildly warned about the apparent absurdity, if any, of the replies given. Also the statement should be corrected by evidence from more responsible elements present on the occasion. It is still very difficult to make a correct census of family assets and income and crops, etc., which are invariably understated, while, on the other hand, the figures of liabilities are often exaggerated. The special advantage, however, of a group-meeting is that the villagers often promptly check one another. Again, it so happens that in every village, or, at least, in each *para* (zone) of a village, there are a number of village leaders who know every bit of facts regarding each of the villagers, or each family of particular zones of the village. It is advisable, therefore, that every individual statement should, later, in the presence of the giver of the statement himself, be read out and finally corrected by such a leader or group of leaders. In the absence of written records or accounts, these are some of the best practical and practicable methods of arriving at the truth. In the case of educated middle class people, their accumulated written accounts should, whenever possible, be copied or borrowed or purchased. When, of course, no written records are available, their verbal statements should be entered, taking care, however, to dispel their misgivings by omitting their names or addresses from the enquiry form and clearly explaining the statistical methods of averaging, squaring, grouping, etc., where personal identity is completely lost.

Given a population with a minimum literacy and a minimum sense of civic responsibility, the best method is, of course, to elicit written answers to a written questionnaire. Printed schedules may be sent round to a known number of persons, the majority of whom are expected to reply. The defects of this method are, however, two-fold : First, all individuals and groups have not similar sense of responsibility ; only the more advanced sections of the people are likely to answer. There is always the danger, therefore, that only particular sections of the population will be represented in our count, and the other sections will be excluded. Secondly, only very short questions can be introduced in this form of enquiry.

We may cite, in this connexion, the experiences of Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao in course of his enquiry into the wages while estimating the National Income

of India in 1931-32. Out of 8143 letters sent by him, only 130 were duly replied to ; and estimates had to be made on the basis of a sample of only 2% of the establishments in the country employing only about 4% of the total employed. Thus, although the method has been tried with success in some western countries, it has no prospect of any remarkable success in India or Pakistan in the near future.

§ 8. Types of surveys :

In order to have a comprehensive grasp over the practical problems of rural life, we must see it as a whole and yet in minute details. Types of surveys are widely varying. A general survey, such as was undertaken by Dr. Radhakamal Mukherjee,* for example, gives us a wide extensive view of our rural economy. There are also surveys which investigate into particular problems over a wide area and surveys which give a many-sided account of the aspects of life in a very limited area. "The extensive survey of important features of the life of a large region, the special study of a particular problem over a large area, the intensive survey of all the many aspects of life of a small area—all these are helpful and really supplement and complement to each other and help to increase and improve the insight that a student of Economics can get into the life of a people."

"Both the extensive and intensive types of survey and methods of approach are necessary, for we must avoid the danger of losing sight of the wood in view of the trees, even as we must avoid the danger of losing sight of the trees in view of the wood. Details must not obstruct our vision of the whole, as our contemplation of the whole must not lead us to ignore its component units or its constituent elements."

As we have said above, the general survey, like that undertaken by Dr. R. K. Mukherjee covers the whole land and can range over the entire social and economic fabric. But there are similar other surveys which are general in nature and wide in scope but limit their territorial range to a particular region or a province. Of the more important surveys of this type, the following may be mentioned : "Wealth and Welfare of the Bengal Delta" by Panandikar, "Wealth and Welfare of the Punjab" by Calvert, "Economics of Rural Bengal" by Saha, "Rural Economy of the Bombay Deccan" by Keatinge, "Rural Economy of the Gujarat" by Dr. J. M. Mehta, and so on. The object of these studies is to give a general view of the rural life of any particular region and "the method pursued is not of intensive detailed study or regular survey, but of extensive, general enquiry and observation, supported in each case by somewhat more detailed and careful inquiries, carried out in just a few villages."

There is also another kind of survey which takes into account not a general economic enquiry but the study of particular problems or selected aspects of the rural economy of a region or a province. Instances of this type of survey are, among others : Darling's "Punjab Peasant in Prosperity and Debt", S. S. Nehru's "Caste and Credit in Rural Area", Dr. Quereshi's "The Farmer and his Debt", Atta Ullah's "The Co-operative Movement

* "Rural Economy of India"

in the Punjab". There are also such instances as Dr. Radhakamal Mukherjee's "Land Problems of India" and B. B. Mukherjee's "Agricultural Marketing in India" which survey particular problems over the whole of the land instead of merely over a small region or province. These surveys, wide in their territorial scope but specialised in their subject-matter, fulfil a very useful purpose and are indispensable as a basis for concretising our rural planning. These surveys have for their object a concentrated and intensive study of particular problems over a wide area of the land, where these problems exist.

There are, again, surveys which are very limited in their territorial scope but very wide and detailed in their subject-matter. Examples of such studies are : Dr. Mann's "Life and Labour in a Deccan Village", Mukhtyar's "Life and Labour in a Gujarat Village", Lucas' "Economic Life of a Punjab Village", Slater's "Some South Indian Villages", S. S. Aiyar's "Economic Life in a Malabar Village", Ranade's "Survey of a Konkan Village", T. K. Menon's "Survey of Ankikaad Village" (Kochin State), etc., etc. Although there is in these studies a many-sided enquiry into the various aspects of rural life, the territorial scope is extremely limited, confined to only one village or a few villages. The problems for survey in these cases, however, are not merely economic, but also sociological, ethical and cultural. These are studies not only of the village, but also of the villager and the village society.

There are, however, a number of writers who have tried to combine the advantages of both the extensive and the intensive studies by undertaking the survey of areas which lie midway between the village and the province. Such an example is provided by Mr. J. C. Jack's survey of the Faridpur District under the title, "Economic Life of a Bengal District". Later writers, however, preferred to adopt the *taluka* as a proper unit, being not too large in area like the province and not too small in area like the village. Instances of such surveys are : Dr. Desai's survey of Gokak Taluka in the Bombay Karnatak under the title, "The Rural Karnatak"; Dr. Bhagat's Survey of Bhiwandi Taluka, in North Konkan, under the title, "Farmer—His Wealth and Welfare"; Sukla's "Life and Labour in a Gujarat Taluka"; Kumarappa's "Survey of Matar Taluka", and so on. And besides general surveys, there are also surveys of particular problems of rural life. Dr. Gadgil's "Survey of Farm Business in Wai Taluka" is an example of such a survey.

§ 9. Methods of survey :

So far as the methods of survey are concerned, they may be classified mainly into two types : (1) The *complete census method* consisting of survey of all units in the area, and (2) the *sample method* consisting of survey of only some of the units in the area. The former resembles the method by which the ten-yearly population statistics and the five-yearly cattle or live-stock statistics are collected. Sir Manilal Nanavati and Prof. Anjaria in their joint work, "The Indian Rural Problem", recommended rural survey on the lines of population census on a decennial basis. "Personal investigation on the spot by means of schedule or a general questionnaire, the census method of door to door inquiry, is the most suitable for an intensive survey.

the answer to the questions being later on compiled, tabulated and generalised".

But the two foreign experts, Professors Bowley and Robertson preferred the *sample survey* method to the *census survey* method, on several weighty grounds. Although in certain cases like the census of population, it is necessary to make a detailed investigation into a large variety of social and economic problems, the time and money required for carrying on these investigations often work against it. And not only this method involves heavy costs, it is also rather narrow in its range. The census method of survey, if intensive in its character and extensive in its subject-matter, is found not only prohibitive in cost, but also complicated in its enquiries, which may result in making it inaccurate. "Detailed complex enquiries, addressed to a very large number of persons would not only require an army of skilled personnel, not easily available, but would also be beyond the intelligence of the average person who may return wrong answers or give incorrect information".

In view of the above considerations, the general opinion seems overwhelmingly in favour of the *random sampling* method. But, again, there are varieties of random sampling. A sample may be chosen deliberately on some well-considered basis which helps to arrive at a selection of representative area or village or family, and then its different aspects are examined carefully and meticulously. The method is generally known as *representative sampling*, although, as some one has pointed out, the term involves a begging of the question. This method has certain obvious merits which need be considered.

First and foremost, it requires a comparatively small size of sample, and is, therefore, financially feasible. In cases where the number of samples cannot but be limited, this method seems to be the only method for investigation into the general trends. It was actually out of this consideration that the surveys of the cost of cultivation of wheat and other crops undertaken under the auspices of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research were conducted by this method of sampling. Dr. M. N. Desai, also, found this method as best suited to the Indian conditions and applied it himself in course of his survey of the Gokak Taluka.

But we cannot be blind to some of the grave defects which the representative sampling method suffers from. For, the choice of the representative may, on many occasions, be subject to the investigator's prejudice or personal conclusions and inexactitudes are liable to creep in. There are, however, several ways of dealing with this problem. One way of removing this defect is to define clearly the object of the inquiry, for this itself will, to a large extent, exclude the possibility of preferring one unit to another. As Mr. N. S. R. Sastri has pointed out, "The object of an enquiry or survey and its nature will determine what is to be deemed representative and may even determine by what method or process the selection is to be made."

Professors Bowley and Robertson have, however, recommended the other method of rural survey which seeks to eschew the error caused by the personal factor. In their report on "An Economical Census for India" they advised to adopt "the statistical method of random sampling, which consists in the sample being selected at random, in a mechanical manner, by different processes of selection, so that every unit has an equal chance

of being selected". In a random sampling, the villages are chosen from all kinds of villages, or the agricultural families are taken from all types of cultivators, according to the principle of proportionate representation. This Random method of sample selection is suggested by statisticians as the nearest approach to exactness. Randomisation implies the elimination of the unreliability of the human factor—the elimination of the investigator's bias, prejudice or personal considerations. "It is based on the law of probability, the law of statistical regularity." The method is to show the percentage with reference to the total number. Obviously, the bigger the size of the sample, the smaller will the range of probable error tend to be. It is said that random selection results in the emergence of the representative sample, if the sample is fairly large.

But, what is the main purpose of economic and statistical survey? It is to obtain data from which it would be possible to deduce generalisations which would be of universal application and, if they are of limited application, to know the limits of error within which they would apply. Random sampling technique fulfils these tests and thus meets the need of the hour.

But this method has certain defects which may be summed up as follows :

(1) The samples must be sufficiently big in size and large in number, or else, the result obtained may not be accurate.

(2) The method "requires a preliminary listing of all the individual units of the population from which the sample is to be drawn and where such listing is not either available or too expensive to get, the method will not be feasible."

(3) The averaging of the results obtained from investigations into a heterogeneous group of samples may lead to conclusions which are worthless from the point of view of practical utility, and even misleading.

Of the defects enumerated above, the first and the second are, of course, incidental, but the third one has been tried to be avoided by certain modifications of the scheme. The new method thus devised is known generally as the *stratified random sampling* method "in which the population is divided into a number of homogeneous groups or strata and the optimum number of units to be selected from each stratum is fixed upon the basis of certain criteria. Within each stratum, the sample units are chosen by the usual methods of random sampling." The main advantage of stratification is the reduction of errors of estimates specially when the differences between groups which are in themselves homogeneous are great. This method has been extensively used by experts in several sociological investigations and it has yielded good results.

Mr. N. S. R. Sastri has pointed out, however, that "the stratification and allocation of the number of units to each stratum depend upon some previous information, say, from census, etc. But if there are any important changes between the date to which the information relates and the time of sampling, this method may lead to biased samples."

In order to get over certain administrative difficulties, techniques such as *cluster sampling*, sub-sampling and double sampling have been devised. "Cluster sampling," for example, is a technique in which a group of individuals instead of a single individual is considered as a unit. Persons living in a block of houses or in an area covering a group of adjacent farms, form such units. "In sub-sampling, first of all sampling is done among the

primary units into which the population is divided in the first instance, and further sampling of units is carried out in the selected primaries. For example, in estimating the average yield of crops in a province, the whole area can at first be divided into a number of regions, say, the revenue sub-divisions and a sample of these sub-divisions can be selected at random. The next stage is to select a number of plots within each sub-division."

Before we conclude we may also consider a few other devices within the category of random sampling. One of them is what is sometimes called *Random Point Sampling*. On a map of the region which is going to be surveyed a number of points are chosen at random, and clusters of units round these points are surveyed. Professor P. C. Mahalanobis made an extensive use of this method for estimating the area under jute cultivation in Bengal. His first step was to divide up the whole area into a number of zones and then to select a number of points within the zone. "A unit of area round each point, called the gird, was investigated in detail. In each gird the proportion of area under jute to the total area was calculated, and estimates of the proportion for each zone were made. By multiplying this proportion by the total area of zones, the estimated area under jute in the area could be found. The sum for all zones gave the total area under jute in the province."

Another method, known as *area sampling*, has come into use very extensively in the United States of America. This method is applied chiefly to census data and to several other data which are related to agriculture. In estimating the total population of a city, for example, the first step is to divide the city into several blocks, whose list is available before the census. The next step is to subdivide each block into several small regions, whose names also must be known beforehand. "The size of the sampling unit (which may be kept constant or vary from region to region) can be fixed up and on a map the whole area can be marked off into these unit areas whose numbers can be counted. A sample of these unit areas will be selected for investigation." "The area sampling method is very expensive and cannot be designed quickly and at the same time efficiently. To get over these difficulties, the Bureau of Agricultural Economics in U.S.A. in co-operation with the Iowa State College succeeded in devising a 'Master Sample' for studies in Agricultural Economics of U.S.A." * The great merit of this method of sampling survey lies in the fact that this can be applied in cases where adequate previous informations, necessary for methods like random sampling, are lacking. The lists of areas and sub-areas can be prepared even in course of the operation of this method.

§10. Author's Investigation :

Informations were collected by the author on the following aspects of the after-effects of the famine from all the families enumerated in the list given at the beginning of this book, that is, from 473 families in West Bengal and 506 families in East Pakistan, e.g., (1) Break-up of joint families, (2) Prostitution, (3) Death, (4) Families wiped off, (5) Number of disabled, (6) Sick and (7) Destitutes, that is, persons eating at free public gruel kitchens or (8) Receiving official & non-official charities.

*Vide Mr. Sastri's Article in the *Indian Journal of Agricultural Economics*.

The last four items are omitted from the scope of discussion in this book, the first four being dealt with in the Appendices in Part III & Part IV for W. Bengal & E. Pakistan respectively. These eight items, however, together constitute what may be called the general questions asked on the famine of 1943 and regarding the villages that were selected and surveyed** (vide questionnaire in Part V below).

More detailed questions on social and economic conditions of a number of families, (picked up on a fairly random basis), were posed in course of the investigation. These questions yielded satisfactory data that admit of classification and tabulation. In the following pages the tabulation is done on the basis of different vocations or *professions as described and defined in Part I*. In part III which concerns *W. Bengal*, we have given tables relating to 255 families, such as, (1) 71 Small Peasant families, (2) 10 Middle Peasants & 2 other such typical families, (3) 84 Agricultural Labourers, (4) 6 Factory Workers, (5) 18 Artisans, (6) 20 Petty Traders, (7) 27 Educated Middle Class families, and (8) 17 Widowed Women. In Part IV which concerns *E. Pakistan*, we have given tables relating to 172 families, such as, (1) 5 Small Peasant families, (2) 5 Middle Peasants & 2 other such typical families, (3) 14 Agricultural Labourers, (4) 17 Factory Workers, (5) 13 Cotton Handloom Weavers, (6) 22 Loomless Weavers, (7) 24 Unskilled Loom Labourers, (8) 15 Widow (Unskilled) Loom Workers, (9) 10 Weaver families' standard of living, (10) 8 other weaver families' Income & Expenditure, (11) 4 Petty Traders, (12) 26 Educated Middle class families' indebtedness, and (13) 7 families of Widowed Women.

** The basis of selection and the method of survey are described in Part I of this volume.

PART III

WEST BENGAL SURVEY RESULTS.

§ 1. Small Peasants.

In nine villages of four districts of West Bengal, the author happened to survey a number of cultivator families who may properly be termed "small peasants" in view of the meagre amount of land they owned (varying from less than one *bigha* to not more than 12 *bighas* or 0.1 to 4 acres)*. Fuller informations relating to their economic life and family circumstances that were gathered and that could conveniently be put together in tabular forms, were available in the case of only 71 families of which 42 were Hindu and 29 Muslim. The former are treated in the three tables given below (Nos. 1-3) and the latter in the next three tables (Nos. 4-6) (all on Small Peasants). The manner in which the results are tabulated is exactly the same in the cases of both Hindu and Muslim families. For instance, in both the cases, the membership composition of the family, the economic status of the members and the by-occupation of the earners are shown in a parallel manner in Tables 1 and 4. While the average Hindu cultivator family consists of 5.7 members [Col. (10), Table 1], the size of the average Muslim cultivator family measures up to 5.3 members [Col. (10), Table 4].

The proportion of *earners* in an average Muslim peasant family to its total membership is 29.9%, which is higher than that in an average Hindu peasant family, namely, 23% [Vide Col. (7) of Tables 4 and 1 respectively]. But the percentage of *working dependents* is lower and that of *non-working dependents* higher in an average Muslim family than in comparison with those in an average Hindu family [Cols. (8) & (9) of Tables 4 and 1 respectively]. It will appear from Table 4 that twenty-two among the total number of twenty-nine Muslim families have subsidiary occupations, howsoever precarious the incomes from these occupations might, in fact, prove to be; while, 37 out of the 42 Hindu families have such by-occupations.

"Day labour and fishing" takes the first place of importance among the by-occupations; next comes "Petty business"; next "vegetable growing" among the Hindus and "Handicraft" among the Muslim [Cols. (11) to (15) in Tables 1 & 4].

The description of holdings and homestead lands and, that of the degree of land alienation are given for the Hindu and Muslim peasants in tables 2 & 5 respectively. Holdings have been shown as consisting of *Occupancy lands*, 'Barga' or share-cropped lands and, finally, 'Korfa' lands. *Korfa* is a type of under-tenancy; *Korfa raiyat* (or *Kol raiyat*) is an under-raiyat or under-tenant who holds lands immediately under a *raiyat*. A *Korfa raiyat* may also hold under another *Korfa raiyat* and obtain the same status and rights as the *Korfa raiyat* of the first degree. Under the Bengal Tenancy Act, there are several grades of under-raiyats, the classification,

* Exceptions are explained in footnotes to Table 2 and table 5 below on this section (on Small Peasants).

however, being made broadly into two groups : (1) *Occupancy* Under-raiyats and (2) *Non-occupancy* Under-raiyats. The status of the second category of under-raiyats is low and insecure. Most of the families surveyed and described here come from the latter group. Their relation with the immediately superior landlord (raiyats, or under-raiyats of the first degree) is purely contractual and they can be in many cases evicted and controlled or punished according to the terms of the contract. The meaning of *Occupancy* lands as shown in the tables below is *Occupancy raiyati* lands, that is, the lands which are held by the cultivators as *Occupancy Raiyats* or *Occupancy tenants*. Not only in Bengal but throughout the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent the status of *Occupancy* tenants is demonstrably high and superior to that of certain other categories of tenants.

It has been said that the privileges of *Occupancy Raiyats* are the privileges of three F's : Fair rent, Fixity of tenure and Free transfer. Theoretically, *Occupancy* right approximates to the virtual right of ownership. But, actually, the cultivators are fast losing this right through a ceaseless process of transfer of their lands under pressure of poverty, want and indebtedness coupled with the greed of the land-grabbers who mostly happen to be non-cultivating owners. It is an irony of fate that these *Occupancy* tenants, after transferring their lands, become, in very many cases, share-croppers or *bargadars* under the transferees. It will, however, be noted that the share-croppers or *bargadars* in Bengal are not recognised as 'tenants' under the Tenancy law. They cultivate the owners' lands purely on contractual basis, the costs (excluding rent) being met almost entirely from out of their own pockets ; but, generally speaking, they pay *adhi* or half of the harvested crops to the owners which may be called the "produce rent".

In the case of the 42 Hindu cultivator families, the amount of *barga* land per average family exceeds the combined quantities of *Occupancy* and *Korfa* lands : While *Occupancy* land amounts to 2.4 bighas (3 bighas are equal to one acre) and *Korfa* land 0.3 bigha, *barga* land equals 3.6 bighas. [Cols. (8), (9) & (10) of Table 2]. In the case of the 29 Muslim families, *Korfa* land is non-existent, the quantity of *barga* land is very meagre (only 0.4 bigha per average family), but that of *Occupancy* land is pretty higher, namely, 11.4 bighas [Cols. (8) to (10), Table 5]. The extent of *Occupancy* holding per average family is, however, actually a little bigger if we exclude (as we should) the landless families at the time of averaging as per arithmetical mean. For instance, if we exclude the 22 families as in Col. (2) of Table 2 and take into account the total quantity of *Occupancy* land as shown in Col. (5) of that table, we get 100.8 bighas for 20 Hindu peasant families, which yields an average of 5.04 bighas per family instead of 2.4 bighas as shown above. Similarly, in the case of Muslim families, from Cols. (2) and (5) of Table 5, we get 14.4 bighas as the average quantity of *Occupancy* land per family and not 11.4 bighas as shown before.

Regarding land alienation, it will be seen from Col. (3) of table 2 that among the 42 Hindu cultivator families, as many as 22 families or 55% of the total number of families were rendered landless by selling out all their patches aggregating 5.8 bighas at Rs. 630. The sum total of land transferred by all the families taken together came up to 14.3 bighas against a total sale price of Rs. 1199 [Col. (4), Table 2]. In the case of Muslim cultivators, 6 families out of 29, or 20.7% of the total, became landless by alienating in

all 6.3 bighas for Rs. 445. The sum total of alienated lands of all the families considered as a whole was of the order of 9.1 bighas valued at Rs. 705 [Cols. (3) & (4), Table 5].

The average quantity of homestead land per Hindu peasant family was 0.7 bigha and per Muslim peasant family 0.2 bigha [Col. (12) of tables 2 and 5 respectively].

Tables 3 and 6 show the extent of economic loss sustained by the Hindu 'Small peasants' and Muslim 'Small peasants' respectively. Land sale effected during the period of the famine was mostly of the nature of distress sale, the purpose of alienation being clearly to find means for purchasing food material. Not only, however, was land sold out but a good deal of movable assets, too, was disposed of in order to cope with the over-rising, sky-high prices of essential consumers' goods, including rice. As will be seen from Table 3 [Cols. (3) to (9)], a large variety of family assets of the Hindu cultivators, such as, land, cattle, ornaments, furniture and utensils, trees and other miscellaneous articles were sold at Rs. 1199, Rs. 168, Rs. 631, Rs. 1021 and Rs. 297 respectively; the total price realised was Rs. 3316 and the average sale price per family was Rs. 79. In the case of all the Muslim families taken together, the sale prices of similar assets, in the order mentioned above, happened to be Rs. 705, Rs. 196, Rs. 115, Rs. 315 and Rs. 267 respectively. The total price was thus Rs. 1598 and the value realised by each family on the average came up to Rs. 55.1 [Cols. (3) to (9), Table 6].

Regarding the incidence of debts, the figures of table 3 indicate that the total debts outstanding on the eve of the famine (for all the Hindu families together) was of the order of Rs. 1170 [Col. (10)], the famine-time "hand loans" Rs. 817 and the mortgage loans Rs. 1306 [Cols. (11) & (12)]—all told Rs. 3293 for all the Hindu families as a whole or Rs. 78.4 per average family. Similarly, in the case of Muslim cultivators, the volume of pre-famine debts was Rs. 245 while that of famine-time "hand loans" and mortgage loans came to be Rs. 1300 and Rs. 229 respectively [Cols. (10) to (12), Table 6]. Their total debts were thus Rs. 1774 and the average indebtedness per family equalled Rs. 61.2.

Small Holders of a Typical Village :

In the list given below it will be seen that all of the cultivators except one or two families come within the category of "Small Peasants", and, in fact, it is to show that the greatest majority of the cultivators of the village concerned are "small holders" that the list is produced below :—

Families with land.

Total families in the village—167. Families selling land—8.

Vill. Pearapur (Purbapara). P. S. Serampore, Dist. Hooghly, W. Bengal.

Serial No.	Name of the Head of the family	Nature and Extent of holding	
		Under Occupancy right.	As a Bhagchasi.
1.	Ram Chandra Mandal	8½ bighas	Nil
2.	Dukhiram Mandal	6 "	"
3.	Pramila Dasi	4 "	"
4.	Gunamani Khelo	3. "	2½ bighas

Families with land (contd).—

Vill. Pearapur (Purbapara). P. S. Serampore, Dist. Hooghly, W. Bengal.

Serial No.	Name of the Head of the family.	Nature & Extent of holding	
		Under Occupancy right.	As a Bhagchasi.
5.	Nirvay Khelo	6 bighas	Nil bighas
6.	Panchu Gopal Khelo	5 "	"
7.	Panchu Gopal Das	2½ "	"
8.	Gouri Mohan Khelo	9½ "	6½ "
9.	Dev Narayan Middey	9 "	2 "
10.	Mohadev Middey	5 "	Nil
11.	Panchu Khan	3½ "	3 "
12.	Manmatha Neye	4 "	Nil
13.	Nani Neye	4 "	"
14.	Manik Neye	3½ "	4 "
15.	Hiru Lall Neye	5 "	4 "
16.	Sonatan Neye	2 "	2 "
17.	Subole Das	Nil	4 "
18.	Subole Hati	4 "	3½ "
19.	Bijay Khan	2 "	Nil
20.	Kali Charan Das	5 "	2 "
21.	Madan Das	1½ "	Nil
22.	Fakir Mandal	8 "	"
23.	Jaleswar Das	1½ "	4 "
24.	Jaleswar Khelo	1½ "	Nil
25.	Jatin Bag	1½ "	"
26.	Panchu Middey	3 "	"
27.	Supadi Das	7 "	7 "
28.	Gobardhan Hati	8 "	Nil
29.	Jay Krishna Hati	11 "	"
30.	Bhanu Hati	5 "	Nil
31.	Bhanu Mandal	2 "	"
32.	Bisweswar Mandal	6 "	"
33.	Sarbeswar Mandal	6 "	"
34.	Hare Krishna Mandal	7 "	"
35.	Nitai Das	4 "	"
36.	Gopal Marko	7 "	"
37.	Bhandul Khelo	4 "	"
38.	Dulal Majhi	3 "	"
39.	Mahendra Majhi	9 "	9 "
40.	Nani Majhi (1)	4 "	12 "
41.	Kanai Majhi	4 "	Nil
42.	Nani Majhi (2)	4 "	12 "
43.	Durlav Mandal	9 "	2 "
44.	Panchu Mandal	6 "	Nil
45.	Kali Mandal	8 "	"
46.	Bansi Hati	4 "	"
47.	Kangali Das	7 "	"
48.	Nani Das	7 "	4 "
49.	Gopal Das	6 "	Nil
50.	Dinu Das	16 "	"
51.	Wife of Nitai Chatterjee	21 "	"
52.	Behari Bag	9 "	"
53.	Sudhir Das	5 "	"
54.	Manmatha Bag	1½ "	"
55.	Jiban Baidya	5 "	"
56.	Ratan Baidya	2½ "	2 "
57.	Nani Mandal	7 "	Nil

PEASAN

Families

Table 3

Total no.
All fam.
(Rgs.)
8
1927
38
1922
66
223
40
3316

1.

m Families

Table 4

members
N. W. D.
9
65.8
75.0
60.0
57.1
71.4
43.6
57.8

Families

Table 5

es)
Korfa (Bgs.)
7

..
..
..
..
..
..

at two-thir.

Occupancy land (bighas.)	es having by-occupation.		
	Vegetable growing.	Handi- craft.	Others.
1	13	14	15
0 ..	1	..	1
1 ..	..	..	..
1-3 ..	4	..	2
4-6 ..	..	..	..
7-9 ..	..	..	..
10-Up	1	..	..
Total	6	..	3

Occupancy land (bighas.)	Homestead land		
	Korfa (Bgs.)	All families (Bgs.)	Av. family (Bgs.)
1	10	11	12
0 ..	0.2	15.6 *	0.7
1 ..	..	..	..
1-3 ..	0.2	9.3	0.8
4-6 ..	0.4	2.5	0.6
7-9 ..	..	0.1	0.05
10-Up	3.5	..	..
Total	0.3	27.5	0.7

* 3.5 bighas.

** These two is volume, but the exception has been made here in vi poverty and low economic condition.

.)

Vill.	Assets sold	Debts (all families)			Total debts.	
	Av. fam. (Rs.)	Pre. famine. (Rs.)	Famine Hand loans. (Rs.)	Mortgage (famine) (Rs.)	All families (Rs.)	Av. fam. (Rs.)
Serial No	9	10	11	12	13	14
5.	87.6	466	560	892 *	1918	87.2
6.	38.0	25	32	14	71	71.0
7.	92.9	573	100	100	773	70.3
8.	16.5	100	100	..	200	50.0
9.	111.5	5	..	300	305	152.5
10.	20.0	1	25	..	26	13.0
11.	79.0	1170	817	1306	3293	78.4

Vill.	No. of families having by-occupation				
	Av. size of family.	Petty business.	Day lab. & fishing.	Vegetable growing.	Handicraft. Others.
Serial No	10	11	12	13	14 15
25.					
26.	0.3	1	3	..	3 ..
27.	4.0	..	..	..	.. 1
28.	5.0	3	1	..	2 ..
29.	4.2	2	1	..	.. ..
30.	3.5	..	..	..	1 ..
31.	5.6	1	2	1	.. ..
32.	5.3	7	7	1	6 1

Vill.	Holding per av. family			Homestead land	
	Occupancy (Bgs).	Barga (Bgs).	Korfa (Bgs).	All families (Bgs).	Av. family (Bgs).
Serial No	8	9	10	11	12
45.					
46.			..	5.6	0.9
47.	0.2	2.0	..	..	..
48.	1.9	1.2	..	8.5	1.1
49.	5.2	..	..	8.0	1.6
50.	7.5	..	..	1.5	0.8
51.	39.3 *	..	..	4.4	0.6
52.	11.4	0.4	..	25.0	0.2

53. 1s of their holdings were uncultivated "old fallow" lands and a certain portion
 54.
 55.
 56.
 57.

Occupancy land (highas).	No. fam.	Families	Total debts.	
		Famine mortgage. (Rs.)	All families. (Rs.)	Av. fam. (Rs.)
1		12	13	14
0		..	5	0.8
1		..	..	..
1—3		89	120	16.1
4—6		140	140	28.0
7—9		..	..	..
10—Up		...	1500	214.3
Total	24	229	1774	61.2

Among all the families surveyed, only 10 may be classified as 'Middle Peasants', the basis of the classification being, of course, the quantity of land (i.e. 12 to 30 bighas or 4 to 10 acres) possessed and owned by the average family. In all, there are nine Muslim families and only one Hindu. In Table 1 (on Middle Peasants) below, the size of the family and the economic status of the members are shown. The only Hindu family consists of 9 members, while the average Muslim family consists of 6 members [Col. (10)]. The percentages of *earners*, *working dependents* and *non-working dependents* [Cols. (6) to (8)] in the latter case are 27.8, 35.2 and 37.0 respectively. In table 2, the amount of Occupancy holding per average Muslim family is shown to be 19.9 bighas [Col. (4)] and the average size of homestead land per family is 2.4 bighas [Col. (6)]. One Muslim family and the only Hindu family have respectively only 5 bighas and 8 bighas of land but they have been placed in the category of "middle peasants" in view of the size of their farm which includes their own Occupancy lands and additional 14 bighas of *barga* land each. The nine Muslim middle peasant families together have sold out 5 bighas of homestead land at Rs. 550 and cattle at Rs. 91, while the volume of their total debts comes up to Rs. 500 [Cols. (8), (9) & (10)].

Table 1

Occu-pancy land (Bgs).	No. of fami-lies (Mu-slim)	Size of families (all)			% of family members (all)			Total mem-bers (No.)	Av. size of family (No.)
		Earn-er	W. D.	N. W. D.	Earn-er.	W. D.	N. W. D.		
1—5	1	1	1	1	33·3	33·3	33·3	3	3·0
6—10	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
11—15	2	3	4	4	27·4	36·4	36·4	11	5·5
16—20	4	6	8	7	28·6	38·1	33·3	21	5·2
21—Up	2	5	6	8	26·3	31·6	42·1	19	9·5
Total	9	15	19	20	27·8	35·2	37·0	54	6·0
(Hindu)									
6—10	1	2	4	3	22·2	44·4	33·4	9	9·0

Table 2

Occupancy land (Bgs).	No. of fami- lies (Mu- slim)	Occupancy Holding		Homestead land		Homestead sold		Cattle sold. (Rs.)	Famiae debt. (Rs.)
		All fam. (Bgs).	Av. fam. (Bgs).	All fam. (Bgs).	Av. fam. (Bgs).	(Bgs)	(Rs.)		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1—5	1	5	5 *	2	2.0	..	..	..	..
6—10	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
11—15	2	26	13	3	1.5	..	..	91	..
16—20	4	78	19.5	6	1.5	5	550	..	..
21—Up	2	70	35 **	11	5.5	..	..	..	500
Total	9	179	19.9	22	2.4	5	550	91	500
(Hindu)									
6—10	1	8	8 *	0.5	0.5	..	..	10	..

* The family cultivates additional 14 bighas of barga land.

** These two families have a considerable extent of uncultivated fallow lands.

Typical Instances :

TWO MIDDLE PEASANTS

- (1) Akul Hazra.
Vill.—Narullapara
P.S.—Uluberia
Dt.—Howrah, West Bengal.

1942

1943 December.

1. 15 members in the family all in good health.

2. Akul cultivated—60 Bgs. under Barga arrangement and got rice enough for 7 months for purposes of family needs.

3. He owned—6 Bgs. land attached to homestead.

4. Had 9 Bgs. of land near home-
stead at a rent of Rs. 14/- a year.

1. Two members (one earner, another working dependent) died of starvation and sickness born of starvation.

2. Akul abandoned the cultivation of 40 Bgs. Barga land due to ill health and want of money & capital assets. Cultivated only 20 Bgs. this year.

3. Mortgaged the land (attached to home-
stead) for Rs. 250/- with Mrs. Bidyutlata
Mullick (a lady Doctor).

4. Rent arrears have accumulated to the
extent of Rs. 70/-.

- | | |
|--|--|
| 5. Had 6 thatched rooms. | 5. He sold out at Rs. 4/- one room and the remaining ones are in a dilapidated condition. |
| 6. 2 ponds at rents of Rs. 12/- & Rs. 8/- respectively. | 6. The ponds are there. |
| 7. A plough & two bullocks. | 7. Sold one bullock in a dying condition at Rs. 8/- (it could not be fed adequately). |
| 8. 4 Goats. | 8. Sold all the goats. |
| 9. 4 Mango trees & 4 'babla' trees. | 9. Sold all the trees at Rs. 18/-. |
| 10. Considerable amount of ornaments. | 10. Sold all the ornaments at Rs. 400/8/-. |
| 11. One brother was an employee at Fuleswar Cotton Mills on a weekly wage of Rs. 4/6/- | 11. The brother who worked at Fuleswar is now an invalid due to sickness and fasting and therefore unemployed. |

All the members of the family are now seriously ill. A few cocoanut trees and several bamboos and the lands are the assets that still remain (Decr. 1943).

Typical Instances :

TWO MIDDLE PEASANTS

- (2) Hamizaddi Mistri
Vill—Dandirhat (Fulbari)
P.S.—Basirhat
Dt.—24—Parganas, West Bengal.
Time of enquiry—November, 1943.

1941	Between 1942 and Nov. 1943.
Cultivable Land—14 Bgs. 16 Kathas.	Sold 7 bighas at Rs. 125/- (a nominal value)
One Tank (with Fishes)	„ 1 Bg. at Rs. 30/- (a nominal value)
Homestead—1 Bg. land and two rooms	„ 3½ Bgs. together with a pond at Rs. 58/-
	„ 2½ Bgs. at Rs. 50/-
	„ 16 Kts. at Rs. 100/-
Ornaments worth Rs. 100/-	„ Homestead including house at Rs. 125/-
Plough One	Had only a nose-ring (<i>Nath</i>) of his wife left,
Bullocks Two	which was sold at Rs. 8/- in late November,
Cows & Goats 5.	1943.

Cows, Goats, Bullocks & Plough are gone.

Hamizaddi had 7 dependents in his family, a brother died of Starvation, a son killed himself by hanging to escape the pangs of starvation only the other day. Hamizaddi is now homeless and a crack-brained man; still he sells vegetables at Dandirhat Bazar every morning, stooping low. He is sixty.

§ 3. Agricultural Labourers :

Eighty-four landless agricultural labour families were surveyed in details. As will be seen from Table 1 below, 9 of these families were Muslim, whereas the rest belonged to the Scheduled Castes among Hindus. They are: Muchi 21 families, Kowra 11 families, Bagdi 18, Rajbansi 22 and Buno or Santal 3 [Cols. (1) & (2)]. The size of the family (taking all the 84 families into account) constituted 3.6 members on the average [Col (7)]. The proportions of *earners*, *working dependents* and *non-working dependents* to the total number of members were 27.8%, 38.2% and 34.0% respectively [Cols. (8) to (10)]. Among the 84 families, 31 families or 34.9% were indebted; the total debts amounted to Rs. 1278.2, the average debt per family (taking both indebted and debt-free families into account) Rs. 15.2 and the average debt per each indebted family Rs. 41.2 [Cols. (11) to (14)]. In Table 2, the devastating consequences of the famine are studied on the basis of recorded loss of family assets through out-right sale, such as, homestead land at Rs. 1025, cattle at Rs. 721, utensils at Rs. 365, ornaments at Rs. 727 and other items at Rs. 299—all told Rs. 3137 [Cols. (3) to (8), Table 2]]. It will be interesting to compare the percentages of the separate sale prices of these different varieties of assets to the total value received. These were: 32.7% (homestead), 23% (cattle), 11.6% (utensils), 23.2% (ornaments) and 9.5% (others). [Cols. (9) to (13), Table 2]. The quantity of homestead land remaining in possession of each family on the average was 7.7 *Kattas* in the wake of the famine [Col. (15)]. Col. (4) of Table 3 shows the average sale price of assets per each family to be of the order of Rs. 37.3. The incidence of death and physical disablement (due to famine-starvation) is revealed in Cols. (6) to (9) of table 3: comparing the figures of Cols. (3) and (6), we find that while 306 persons survived the distress of the famine, 36 died, that is, 10.5% of the labourers or, 11.8% of the survivors, was wiped out by death [Col. (8)]. The proportion of disabled persons to the total survivors was to the tune of 17% [Col. (9)].

AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS

Table 1

Caste	No. of families.	Size of family				Av. size of fam.
		Earners.	W. D.	N. W. D.	Total	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Muchi	21	21	27	16	64	3.1
Kowra	11	11	19	12	42	3.8
Bagdi	18	18	25	26	69	3.8
Rajbansi	22	24	32	33	89	4.0
Buno						
(Santal)	3	1	4	7	12	4.0
Muslim	9	10	10	10	39	3.3
Total	84	85	117	104	306	3.6

AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS

Table 1 (Contd.)

% of total members			Total debts (Rs.)	No. of indebted families.	Debt per fam. (av. of all).	Debt per fam. (av. of indebted families)
Earners.	W. D.	N. W. D.				
8	9	10	11	12	13	14
32.8	42.2	25.0	94.0	6	4.5	15.7
26.2	45.2	28.6	73.5	2	6.7	36.8
26.1	36.2	37.7	519.7	15	23.9	34.6
27.0	36.0	37.0	570.0	7	25.9	81.4
8.3	33.3	58.4	..	..	..	..
33.3	33.3	34.4	21.0	1	2.3	21.0
27.8	38.2	34.0	1278.2	31	15.2	41.2

AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS

Table 2

Caste	No. of fam.	Assets sold in Rs.					
		Home- stead.	Cattle	Uten- sils.	Orna- ments.	Others.	Total
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Muchi ..	21	440	360	89	10	86	985
Kowra ..	11	310	148	24	27	32	511
Bagdi ..	18	160	76	75	115	55	481
Rajbansi ..	22	..	99	168	575	60	902
Bano (Santal) ..	3	..	38	4	..	..	42
Muslim ..	9	115	..	5	..	66	186
Total ..	84	1025	721	365	727	299	3137

AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS

Table 2 (Contd.)

P.C. of sale of different items to total sale.					Homestead and remaining (in Kts)	
Home- stead	Cattle	Utensils.	Orna- ments.	others	All fa- milies.	Av. fam.
9	10	11	12	13	14	15
44.7	36.5	9.0	1.0	8.8	250	11.9
57.3	27.4	4.4	5.0	5.9	94	8.5
33.3	15.8	15.6	23.9	11.4	77	4.3
..	11.0	18.6	63.7	6.7	123	5.6
..	90.5	9.5	..	..	8	2.7
61.8	..	2.7	..	35.5	91	10.1
32.7	23.0	11.6	23.2	9.5	643	7.7

AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS

Table 3

Caste.	No. of families	No. of persons.	Av. of sale of assets per family. (Rs.)	Home-stand re-maining per fam. (Kts.)	No. of death.	No. of disabled	P. C. of death	P. C. of disabled
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Muchi	21	64	46.9	11.9	11	14	17.2	21.9
Kowra	11	42	49.2	8.5	5	..	11.9	..
Bagdi	18	69	26.7	4.3	11	23	15.9	33.3
Rajbansi	22	89	41.0	5.6	6	9	6.7	10.1
Buno								
(Santal)	3	12	14.0	2.7	2	..	16.7	..
Muslim	9	30	20.7	10.1	1	6	3.3	20.0
Total	84	306	37.3	7.7	36	52	11.8	17.0

Daily Wages of Agricultural Labourers

West Bengal.

Month & Year.	Vill. Dandirhat P.S. Basirhat Dt. 24-Pargs.			Vill. Narulla- para P.S. Uluberia Dt. Howrah.			Vill. Akaiapur P.S. Bongaon Dt. Jessore (pre-Parti- tion) Dt. 24-Prgs. (Post-parti- tion.)			Vill. Peara- par. P.S. Seram- pore. Dt. Hooghly		
	Rs.	As.	P.	Rs.	As.	P.	Rs.	As.	P.	Rs.	As.	P.
Sept. 1942	0	3	6	As. 4 to As. 4½	0	5	3	0	8	0	*	
Oct. '42	0	4	0	Do	Do	Do	Do	Do	Do	Do		
Nov. '42	0	4	0	Do	Do	0	8	0	Do	Do		
Dec. '42		Do		Do	Do	Do	Do		Do	Do		
Jan. '43		Do		Do	Do	Do	Do		Do	Do		
Feb. '43		Do		Do	Do	Do	Do		Do	Do		
Mar. '43		Do		Do	Do	Do	Do		Do	Do		
Apr. '43		Do		Do	Do	Do	Do		Do	Do		
May. '43		Do		Do	Do	Do	Do		Do	Do		
Jun. '43		Do		Do	Do	Do	Do		Do	Do		
July '43	as. 8	to	as. 10	as. 8	0	12	0	0	14	0		
Aug. '43		Do		Do	0	Do	1	6	0*			
Sept. '43		Do		Do		as. 12 to Re. 1		Do				
Oct. '43		Do		Do		Do		Do				
Nov. '43		Do		Do		Do		Do				

* For a wood-cutter, the rate varied from As. 8 to As. 10 in Sep. 1942 and in subsequent months till Sep. 1943 when it varied from Re. 1 to Re. 1 As. 2. This table is the result of local enquiry by the author.

§ 4. Factory Workers :

In course of the survey of villages in West Bengal, the author came across a number of families in two villages in Hooghly and Howrah districts, whose principal earners were found to have been employed in cotton weaving and jute manufacturing factories situated within a radius of four to five miles from those villages. For instance, thirteen adults included in twelve families of the village, Narullapara, of Howrah District, were reported to have jobs in the adjacent cotton mills of Fuleswar on the B.N. Railway just on the eve of the famine. But, as the prices soared up and economic difficulties mounted, the income from the factory employment proved too inadequate for maintaining their families. So, they had to fast and got gradually emaciated and fall seriously ill and, ultimately, some of them died. All the names could not be traced; the following were, however, listed :—

Time : December. 1943

1. Kamal Hazra	(Still employed)—Included as a unit in attached tables
2. Khanda Hazra	Do Do Do
3. Mahadeb Dolui	Once an employee of Gaganbhai Mills, now an invalid duo to starvation (Earned Rs. 4/- a week).
4. Botu Dolui	Do of Fuleswar Mills on Rs. 6/9/6 pias a week, now invalid because of starvation.
5. Do father	Do on Rs. 5/- a week, now dead by starvation.
6. Sannyasi Dolui once a Mill worker now invalid.	
7. Sudhir Parkait's brother	Do on Rs. 4/- a week, still employed, but included in the tables on "Small Peasants" because Sudhir, the main earner of the joint family, is a peasant.
8. Brother of Akul Hazra	Employed on Rs. 4/6/- a week at Fuleswar Mills, but now sick and invalid. He and Akul Hazra are treated as a family unit included in the tables on "Middle Peasants" on the same ground as stated in the case of family No. 7 above.

Among the total number of families surveyed in the two villages of Howrah and Hooghly districts, six families including the first two mentioned in the above schedule, gave their main source of livelihood to be factory employment. The results of enquiry are tabulated in the attached two tables on the basis of ranges of monthly wages received. Cols. (1) and (2) of Table 1 show, three families come within the range of Rs. 1-25 (wages) per month, two within Rs. 26-50 range and one within Rs. 76-up range. Cols. (8), (9) and (10) of Table 1 show the by-occupations of the families concerned. From Cols. (2) and (6) of Table 1, we see that the average family consists of 4.8 members of whom earners are 34.5%, working dependents 37.9% and non-working dependents 27.6% [Cols. (4), (5) & (6) of Table 2]. Col. (7) of table 2 records a *per capita* factory income of Rs. 4.2 per month which is obviously very low in view of the then prevailing high prices. As Col. (10) of Table 1 indicates, the income from by-occupation,

such as, agriculture and rope-making, is not even Rs. 1 per family per month. Economic difficulties were partly "solved" by selling movable family assets [Col. (12), Table 1] whose total value came up to Rs. 282 or Rs. 47 per family on the average [Col. (9) Table 2]. The families surveyed were very poor and hard-hit by the famine and this is partly explained by the fact that, as far as was disclosed to the author, they had no assets left in their possession other than a meagre quantity of homestead land and kitchen garden amounting to 36.1 *Kattas* or .6 acre per family [Col. (8), Table 2]. Their poverty and economic insecurity were responsible for low credit and this explains why the debt per family was so small as Rs. 1.7 which will be seen from Col. (10) of Table 2.

§ 5. Artisans :

Among all the families surveyed in all the nine villages of the four districts of West Bengal, the profession of the main earners of 18 families was such that they may be conveniently grouped under the class-name 'Artisans', their crafts being, as shown in the table given below,—(1), Masonry (8 families), (2) Weaving (3 families), (3) Carpentry (1 family), (4) Smithy (1 family), and (5) Pottery (5 families). As Col. (5) indicates, they had some quantity of cultivable land which was, however, sold out to tide over the distress of the famine. Thus, 128 *Kattas* or 2.1 acres were sold at a price of Rs. 282 [Col. (6)]. Their movable assets including tools, instruments and ornaments were also sold at a value of Rs. 392 [Col. (7)]. What little remained was mortgaged for Rs. 164 at a very high rate of interest [Cols. (9) and (10)]. Apart from mortgage debts, another sum of Rs. 260 was borrowed during the famine months mostly as "hand loans" and "book credit" at the grocery shops [Col. (12)]. Debts, old and current, including mortgage loans, together came up to Rs. 612, thus giving Rs. 34 as the average incidence of debt per family [Cols. (13) & (14)] which was not much in view of the acute distress. The pitiable condition of these craftsmen was, however, reflected in the rapid sale of homestead lands including huts : Sale of cultivable lands and sale and mortgage of movable assets had rendered many of them landless and penniless, but the sale of homestead lands and huts turned some of them homeless, too. As Cols. (3) and (4) of the following table show, 103 *Kattas* or 1.7 acres of homestead lands were sold at Rs. 515.

ARTISANS

Profession.	No. of fam.	Homestead sold.		Cultivable land sold.		Assets sold : (Rs.)
		Land (Kts)	Amount (Rs.)	Land (Kts)	Amount (Rs.)	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Mason ..	8	89	295	..	..	1
Weaver ..	3	..	..	28	70	74
Carpenter ..	1	8	70	89	209	159
Gold-smith ..	1	..	..	..	..	50
Potter ..	5	15	150	20	12	117
Total	18	103	515	128	282	392

ARTISANS (Contd.)

Land and assets sold per fam. (Rs.)	Assets mortgaged		Debts		Total debts incl. mort. Rs.	Av. Debt per fam. Rs.
	Sum Rs.	Interest Rs.	Old. Rs.	Recent. Rs.		
8	9	10	11	12	13	14
37	..	..	2	15	17	2.1
48	..	..	50	45	95	31.7
..	..	..	..	25	25	25
50	..	..	..	25	25	25
55.8	164	120	16	150	450	90
66	164	120	68	260	612	34

Apart from the families included in the above table, a list was made of those weaver families who lived in the village, Dandirhat (Fulbari), of the district of 24-Parganas. This list, which is given below, was made in course of a flying or cursory attempt to gauge the intensity of dislocation caused by the famine to the weaver families in particular. In the several months preceding the time of the author's survey of the village mentioned above (Nov., 1943), there was as much acute shortage of yarn as of food itself. Consequently, some of the 21 weaver families of the village who were hit very hard had to lose their vocation or craft and were thrown out as street beggars; some, again, suspended weaving, while others sold out their looms outright and changed their profession. This was an aspect of the economic disintegration in the rural area concerned. Thus, in the above-mentioned village, out of 21 weaver families, 15 suspended weaving due to food scarcity and yarn shortage; 2 sold out looms and changed hereditary family profession of weaving; and 4 were turned destitutes and beggars.

Weavers at Dandirhat (Fulbari)

P.S.—Basirhat. District—24-Parganas. West Bengal.

Serial No.	Name	No. of Looms.	Remarks. (Nov. 1943)
1.	Kasem Mistry	2 (old type flyshuttle pit loom)	Looms are lying idle, he is turned a beggar & fallen ill.
2.	Eklal Mistry	4	All looms idle
3.	Majahar Molla	1	..do.
4.	Khaimuddi Molla	1	..do.
5.	Omar Ali Molla	3	..do.
6.	Mohar Ali	1	..do.
7.	Kadu Molla	1	..do.
8.	Sultan Molla	1	..do.
9.	Nababdi	2	Looms sold out at Rs. 29/- in all
10.	Chhabedali	1	Loom idle
11.	Bhoda	Loomless weaver	Begging
12.	Shadek Ali	2 Looms	Looms sold at Rs. 10/- each.
13.	Momin Molla	Loomless Weaver	Begging
14.	Son of Amanat	1 Loom	Loom idle
15.	Juro Molla	Loomless Weaver	Begging

16. Jahar Bux	3 Looms	Looms Idle
17. Mochhlem Molla	1 "	"
18. Babur Ali Molla	1 "	"
19. Badesa Karigar	2 "	"
20. Thakurchand	2 "	"
21. Hajed Karigar	2 "	"

N. B. The above list includes the three weavers taken into account in the table on "Artisans" in this section.

The following table shows the dislocation caused by the famine to the rope-making cottage industry of Pearapur village of the District of Hooghly, West Bengal :—

Rope-Making Industry as affected by Famine.
Village—Pearapur, Dist.—Hooghly, West Bengal.

Proprietor and his residence.	Place where the factory was situated.	Hands employed	Hours of work.	Rate of wages.	Present condition. (Dec. 1943)
Panchanan Das of Chatra, Serampore.	Majhipara Pearapur	125	8 Hrs. Extra hrs. on contract.	-/12/- to Re. 1/12/- daily	Closed.
Haripada Das of Chatra	-do-	80 to 90	-do-	-do-	-do-
Anukul Adak of Majhipara, Pearapur	-do-	20 to 25	-do-	-do-	Factory sold out
Dulal Ghosh, Chatra	-do-	50 to 60	-do-	-do-	Closed
Hare Krishna Mondal, Pearapur	-do-	20 to 25	-do-	-do-	-do-
Hazu Porel, -do-	-do-	5 to 6	-do-	-do-	-do-

§ 6. Petty Traders :

In all 20 families that may be described as "Petty Traders", that is, traders-in-current-consumption-goods with meagre cash capital and sluggish business turn-over, came on the way of the author's survey in the villages of the four districts of West Bengal. As the next table, on "Petty Traders", shows, 16 of the families were Hindu and 4 Muslim. The classification of the families has been done on the size of the family and not on the amount of business capital employed or family income, as accurate data on these were not available. From Cols. (2) and (3) it appears that the average family consists of 5 members. The distress heaped by the famine is revealed by the fact that they had to use up a part of the business capital and to sell out or mortgage all manner of assets, movable or immovable, which they possessed. For instance, all the families taken together consumed a part of the trade-capital employed in business, amounting to Rs. 329/- ; sold trade-assets at Rs. 40, homestead land (10 *Kathas*) at Rs. 205 [Cols. (4) to (7)] ; sold cultivable land (155 *Kathas* or 2.6 acres) at Rs. 763 ; cattle at Rs. 300/- ; ornaments at Rs. 67 ; furniture at Rs. 51/- ; utensils at Rs. 193 and trees at Rs. 77/- [Cols. (9) to (15)]. The land and movable assets sold were of the value of Rs. 84.8 per each family on the average [Col. (17)]. The homestead lands that remained were 129 *Kathas* in all or 6.5 *Kathas* per average family. [Col. (8)]. Total debts, old and current, "hand loans" and "mortgage loans", together with the interest, amounted to Rs. 699 or Rs. 35 per family on the average [Cols. (22) & (23)]. As Col. (24) shows, in all, 5 persons died which means 5 out of 105 persons or 4.8% of the pre-famine total perished by hunger.

PETTY TRADERS

Hindu

Size of family	No. of family.	No. of persons.	Capital exhausted	Trade Assets sold	Homestead sold	
					Land (Kts.)	Amount (Rs.)
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1-3	4	7	..	..	..	..
4-6	9	47	204	..	..	..
7-9	1	8	..	..	..	..
10 & above	2	20	125	..	5	150
Total	16	82	329	..	5	150

Muslim

1-3	1	3	..	..	..	..
4-6	3	15	..	40	5	55
7-9	..	..	..	..	..	..
10 & above	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total	4	18	..	40	5	55
Grand Total	20	100	329	40	10	205

Hindu

Size of family	Homestead Remaining (Kts.)	Cult. land sold		Movable domestic Assets sold in Rs.				
		Land Amount		Cattle	Orna-ments.	Furni-ture	Uten-sils.	Trees
		(Kts.)	(Rs.)					
1	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
1-3	..	..	..	77	..	..	38	..
4-6	15	115	597	97	30	36	150	22
7-9	16	..	..	..	17	..	..	..
10 & above	..	40	190	126	..	..	5	18
Total	31	155	763	300	47	36	193	40

Muslim

1-3	20	..	..	..	20	15	..	..
4-6	78	..	..	..	..	..	..	37
7-9	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
10 & above	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total	98	..	..	..	20	15	..	37
Grand Total	129	155	763	300	67	51	193	77

Hindu

Size of family	Land & Assets Sold		Debt in cash & other assets Mortgdl. (Rs.)						
	Rs.		Old.	Famino year.	Mort-gage	Int.	Total	Av. per fam.	Total deaths.
	Total	Av. fam.							
1	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
1-3	115	28.7	54	..	..	..	54	13.5	1
4-6	902	100	135	141	86	7	369	41	3
7-9	17	17	..	..	46	..	46	49	..
10 & above	495	247.5	160	..	60	..	220	110	..
Total	1529	95.6	349	141	192	7	689	40.6	4

PETTY TRADERS (Contd.)

Muslim

1	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
1-3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
4-6	167	55.7	..	10	..	..	10	3.3	1
7-9	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
10 & above	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total	167	41.8	..	10	..	..	10	2.5	1
Grand Total	1696	84.8	349	151	192	7	699	35	5

§ 7. Educated Middle Class :

Of all the families surveyed, 27 may be specifically earmarked as "Educated Middle Class". They are called "Educated", because all the members of these families excluding little children are literate and male adults have received higher education. The spread of higher education is shown in the following Table 2 on "Educated Middle Class" [Cols. (2) to (6)]. In the Indian rural background where illiteracy is almost universal, it is a somewhat praiseworthy educational achievement to have among only 27 families of remote villages (and remembering that most of the persons have not deserted the villages but are employed locally at schools, etc.) as many as 2 Graduates, 6 Matriculates, 5 persons of High English Standard, 7 of Middle English Standard and 4 of Upper Primary Standard. The 27 families concerned have miscellaneous types of liberal profession, as shown in Col. (1) and Col. (2) of table I below: Service, i.e., office employment at towns or as local A.R.P. Wardens (14 families); Teacher (3 families); Land Owner (2 families); Shop-keeper (3 families); and Priest and Quack (5 families). Cols. (3) to (9) of Table I show that in the 27 families taken together, there are 172 persons (the average family consisting of 6.4 persons) of which 36 are earners and 136 non-working dependents. It is a peculiar feature of Hindu educated families—for here they are all Hindus—that the members are either earners or non-working dependents, there being scarcely any working-dependents and none such among these 27 families. And the percentage of non-working dependents is preponderant, for, as Cols. (8) and (7) Table 1 would reveal, there are 79.1% non-working dependents as against 20.9% earners. Naturally, a big family is maintained, in many cases, by a single earner. The family income, too, is rather meagre, as shown in Col. (14) of Table 1. It is Rs. 54 per month on average including all incomes from by-occupations. With 6.4 members to support at a monthly income of Rs. 54, it is hard living in days of scarcity and high inflation. It is not 'living', but somehow 'existing'; that is, barely keeping the body (which is a bag of bones) and the soul together, as we say. To tide over the distress during the months of the famine, many among the 27 families in question had to deprive themselves of almost the whole of their movable and some of their immovable assets through outright sale or mortgage. As shown in Cols. (15) to (20) of Table 1, they sold 146 *Kathas* or 2.4 acres of land at Rs. 154; ornaments at Rs. 933; other assets, such as, furniture, etc. at Rs. 396; all sold at Rs. 1393 or at Rs. 51.6 per each family on the average. But this meagre cash price realised by an average family was too small for any real relief. Naturally, the families described here had to have

recourse to borrowing which yielded a total unsecured loan of Rs. 3,155 [Col. (22) of Table 1] and secured or mortgaged loan of Rs. 258 [Col. (8) of Table 2]. Add to these, the accumulated 'old debts' of Rs. 337 in all [Col. (21) of Table 1]; thus the total incidence of debts per family was of the order of Rs. 138.9 [Col. (24) of Table 1 and Col. (9) of Table 2]. The amount of land that remained in the possession of these families in December, 1943, was 537 *Kathas* or 9 acres in all, that is, 19.9 *Kathas* or just a bigha (.33 acre) per family on the average [Cols. (10) and (11) of Table 2].

EDUCATED MIDDLE CLASS

Table I

Occupation	Size of the family					% of Total	
	No. of fam.	Earners	W. D.	N.W.D.	Total fam.	Earners	N.W.D.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Service ..	14	20	..	54	74	27.0	73.0
Teacher ..	3	4	..	20	24	16.7	83.3
Land owner ..	2	2	..	5	7	28.6	71.4
Shop keeper ..	3	5	..	29	34	14.7	85.3
Priest & Quack	5	5	..	28	33	15.2	84.8
Total	27	36	..	136	172	20.9	79.1

Occupation	Av. size of fam.	Income per month in Rs.					Assets sold	
		Rent	Paddy	Service	Total	Av. fam. (Rs.)	Land (Kts.)	Amount (Rs.)
1	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
Service ...	5.3	95	25	790	910	65.0	..	..
Teacher ...	8.0	..	..	124	124	41.3	44	44
Land owner ...	3.5	80	..	..	80	40.0	102	110
Shop keeper ...	11.3	..	300	..	300	100.0	..	..
Priest & Quack	6.7	25	..	30	55	11.0	..	..
Total	6.4	200	325	944	1469	54.0	146	154

Occupation	Assets sold in Rs.				Debts in Rs.			
	Orna-ments.	Others.	Total	Av. per fam.	Old.	Recent	Total	Per fam. (except mortg.)
1	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
Service ...	700	32	732	52.3	267	1305	1572	112.3
Teacher ...	163	55	262	87.3	70	1200	1270	423.3
Land owner ...	70	80	260	130	..	20	20	10.0
Shop keeper ...	..	..	..	..	..	200	200	66.7
Priest & Quack	..	139	139	27.8	..	430	430	86.0
Total	933	306	1303	51.6	337	3155	3492	129.3

EDUCATED MIDDLE CLASS

Table 2

Occupation	Education				
	U. P.	Middle English	High English.	Matric.	Graduates
1	2	3	4	5	6
Service ..	2	2	3	4	1
Teacher ..	..	..	1	1	1
Land owner	1	..	..	1	..
Shop keeper	1	1	..	..	..
Priest & Quack	..	4	1	..	..
Total	4	7	5	6	2

Occupation	Assets mortgaged in Rs.			Land remaining (total) in Kts.	Land remaining per family (Kts).
	Ornaments.	Total	Av. per fam.		
1	7	8	9	10	11
Service ...	193	193	13.8	327	23.4
Teacher ...	..	..	..	20	6.7
Land owner ...	45	45	22.5	40	20.0
Shop keeper ...	..	..	..	60	20.0
Priest & Quack	20	20	4.0	90	18.0
Total	258	258	9.6	537	19.9

§ 8. Widowed Women :

The principal earners or heads of 67 families out of all the families surveyed were found to be widowed women. Data that were collected proved systematic and sufficient for tabulation only in the case of 17 families which are included in the following Tables 1 and 2 on "Widowed Women". In 50 other cases, the havoc caused by the famine has been described in general terms in Appendices I & II furnished next to the end of this Section. While the families included in the Tables came from three villages, namely, Pearapur, Narullapara and Akaipur, the families included in the appendices were from villages Narullapara and Dandirhat.

It is a matter of common experience that in Bengal the unfortunate widows of the poorer classes are, even in normal times, economically very insecure and vulnerable and socially very helpless and down-trodden. During the months of the famine, they suffered from a growing distress and presented a ghastly, and at the same time, a heart-rending sight of agony and desolation. Their sorrowful look, tattered rags, dishevelled hair and soul-stirring mark of agonising distress all over the body, have haunted the author during the last nine years. Statistics cannot adequately explain the depth of their pain and misery.

All the land, cattle, utensil, trees and ornaments—all the precious little—which they possessed on earth, were sold out, till at last many of them sold their bodies, too. It was, however, a shanoful and extremely delicate matter which could hardly be revealed to an outsider like the author. And, yet, he has tried to gather figures and facts, however incomplete, at least in two villages and these have been given elsewhere*. Here, in Table 1 below, figures are quoted relating to the loss of assets of the 17 "Widowed Women" families: As Cols. (7) to (14) would show, land amounting to 290 *Kathas* or 4.8 acres in all were sold at Rs. 1128; cattle at Rs. 20; utensils at Rs. 85; trees at Rs. 90 and ornaments mostly made of silver at Rs. 32—in all, at Rs. 1355. The average cash price realised was to the tune of Rs. 79.7 per family. There were 13 starvation deaths in the 17 families or 25% of the pre-famine total members of these families died out [adding Cols. (6), (16), (21) and (22) of Table 1]. At the time of survey, one member of these families was found to have been physically disabled, one reported to have left for an unknown destination while another one was missing. Of the 37 persons that remained at the time of survey, 6 looked extremely harassed and reduced economically, 4 were destitutes and 5 beggars who were roaming about in search of food. From Cols. (1) and (7) of Table 1 it appears that 7 out of 17 families or 41.2% of the families became homeless after selling all their homestead lands (in all 240 *Kathas* or 4 acres) at Rs. 1000 [Col. (8) Table 1]. From Cols. (2) to (6) of Table 1, it appears strange that at the time of survey, only 7 families out of 17 had their earners; a pretty large number of persons of other 10 families were presumably thrown out as beggars on the street and 15 such are accounted for in Cols. (18) to (20) of Table 1. Deducting these 15 from 29 non-working dependents as in Col. (5) of Table 1, we may guess that the remaining 14 non-working dependents were somehow being maintained by the 7 earners plus one working-dependant as in Cols. (3) and (4) respectively of Table 1. The total debt burden of the 17 families was to the extent of Rs. 440 [Table 1, Col. (23)] or Rs. 25.9 per family on the average. The homestead land belonging to 10 families out of 17 (for, 7 became homeless) came up to 78 *Kathas* in all or 7.8 *Kathas* per family [Col. (15) of Table 1 and Col. (10) of Table 2].

WIDOWED WOMEN

Table 1

Homestead land in Kts.	No. of families	Size of the family					Homestead sold		Cattle sold Rs.
		Earners	W.	D.	N. W.	D. Total	Land Kts.	Amount Rs.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
0	7	1	..	8	9	210	1000	..	
1—5	5	3	..	9	12	..	..	..
6—10	3	1	1	8	10	50	128	..	
11—15	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
16 & Up.	2	2	..	4	6	..	..	20	
Total	17	7	1	29	37	290	1128	20	

* Vide Appendix IV on Prostitution, Part III.

Homestead land in kts.	Other assets sold in Rs.					Home- stead remaining.	Death due to starvation
	Utensils	Trees	Ornament	Total	Av. fam.		
1	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
0	...	43	15	..	1058	151.1	0
1-5	...	12	22	..	34	6.8	6
6-10	...	24	44	32	228	76	4
11-15
16 & up.	...	6	9	..	35	17.5	1
Total	85	90	32	1355	79.7	78	13

Post-famine condition							
Homestead land in kts.	Dis- abled.	Harassed	Desti- tutes.	Beggar	Left.	Not Known	Debt. Rs.
1	17	18	19	20	21	22	23
0	3	3	1	..	40
1-5	...	1	..	1	..	..	400
6-10	...	1	1	1	..	..	..
11-15
16 & up.	...	1	..	..	..	1	..
Total	1	6	4	5	1	1	440

Table 2

Homestead land in Kts.	No. of fam.	No. of persons	Average size of family	P.C. of total		
				Earners	W. D.	N. W. D.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
0	..	7	9	1.3	11.1	..
1-5	..	5	12	2.4	25.0	..
6-10	..	3	10	3.3	10.0	10.0
11-15
16-Up	..	2	6	3.0	33.3	..
Total	17	37	2.2	18.9	2.7	78.4

Homestead land in kts.	Per fam. sale of land (Kts)	Total Assets sold per family	Home- stead land remaining per fam.	P.C. of destitution in the family.		
				Harassed.	Destitute.	Beggar
1	8	9	10	11	12	13
0	...	34.3	151.1	..	33.3	33.3
1-5	6.8	2.8	33.3	..
6-10	...	16.7	76.0	8.0	10.0	10.0
11-15
16 & up.	17.5	20.0	16.7	..
Total	17.1	79.7	7.8	16.2	10.8	13.2

APPENDIX I

WIDOWED WOMEN

District—Howrah. P.S. Uluberia. Vill. Narullapara.
List of Widows turned street-beggars.

Sl. No.	Name of the Widow and description of the family.	Why turned beggars.
1.	Bhabi Dasi (with her two children)	Due to her husband Kanai Hazra's death from starvation.
2.	Nero Dasi (with her three children)	Do Gostha Hazra's Do.
3.	Bhabi Dasi (No. 2) (with her three children) .. ..	.. Due to her guardian Khoka Ray's Do.
4.	Subasi (and her child) .. ..	.. Due to her guardian's death from starvation.
5.	Astam Dasi (No 2) (with her 4 children) .. ..	.. Due to her husband Kalo Hazra's death from starvation.
6.	Taru Bala Dasi (with her two children) .. ..	.. Due to her loss of profession (selling of fish) under famine condition.
7.	Abala Bala Dasi (with her child and sister) .. ..	.. Do.
8.	Sindhu " " (with her 2 children)	Due to her husband and son's death from starvation.
9.	Wife of Kartick Hazra (with 4 children) .. ..	.. Due to her husband Kartick Hazra's death from starvation.
10.	Mother of Megha (with her daughter-in-law) .. ..	.. Due to her one son's death and disappearance of another resulting from famine.
11.	Widowed mother of Suren Roy (with his children) .. ..	.. Due to her only son's serious illness resulting from starvation.
12.	Somi Dasi (with her sons)	.. Due to her husband's death from starvation.
13.	Ator Dasi .. ..	.. Due to her loss of profession & illness resulting from famine.
14.	Sasthi Dasi .. ..	.. Due to her husband Suren Dolui's death from starvation.
15.	Khodon Dasi .. ..	.. Due to serious illness of her son Prosad Dolui, resulting from starvation.
16.	Charu Dasi (with her daughter & grand children) .. ..	.. Due to disappearance of her son-in-law under famine conditions.
17.	Dhira Dasi (with her niece)	.. Due to disappearance of her son-in-law under famine conditions.
18.	Mangala Dasi .. ..	.. Due to husband Upen Dolui's death from starvation.
19.	Barna Dasi (with her daughters)	.. Due to death of her son from starvation.
20.	Gharsova Dasi (with her two children)	Due to her husband Gostha Bhuia's death from starvation.
21.	Bilakshan Dasi (with dependants) ..	.. Due to loss of profession under famine conditions.

22. Annada Dasi (with her two children)	Due to death of all the earning members from starvation.
23. Uddhari Dasi (with her child)	.. Due to death of her husband Biraj Bagh and her son from starvation.
24. Astam Dasi (with her dependants)	.. Due to separation of her son & family quarrel resulting from want.
25. Sitala Dasi (with her dependants)	.. Due to death of all the earning members of the family from starvation.
26. Bidhu Dasi (with dependants)	.. Due to death of her daughter (earner) and loss of her profession under famine conditions.
27. Lakshmi Bala Dasi (with her four children)	.. Due to death of her husband Badal Gajender.
28. Jugal Dasi (with her two children)	.. Due to death of her husband Kanai Hazra, from starvation.

APPENDIX II

WIDOWED WOMEN

Dandirhat—VIII.

Basirhat—P.S.

24 Parganas—District.

Sl. No.	Name & family members, & place of residence.	Occupation.	Post-famine status explained.
1.	Mother of Gakul Bairagi. Baishonbpara.	Selling fried rice.	Capital used up, a street beggar now.
2.	Wife of late Tarak Bairagi, & 2 sons. Baishnobpara.	Income of sons (who are office peons at Basirhat Court).	Beggar : sons' income too inadequate and therefore driven out by sons.
3.	Wife of late Ram Bairagi & two minor children. Baishnobpara.	Maid-servant.	Maid servant but income too meagre and so starving & ill.
4.	Wife of late Jiten Datta. Baruipara.	Income from land.	Sold all property, mortgaged house and left for father's home elsewhere.
5.	Wife of late Jatin Datta.	Do.	Do.
6.	Wife of late Kalu Pal & 2 children. Do.	Do.	Sold her whole landed property at Rs. 250/- and utensils, etc. & left the village.
7.	Do. of Manik Pal and 4 children. Do.	Do.	Do.
8.	Radharani Dasi and 2 children. Baruipara	Maid-servant & husking paddy.	Now begging, ill & bereft of all property after selling about 2 Bgs. of land and other assets.
9.	Wife of Nagendranath Sen and Child. Do.	?	Depend on charity by others.

10. Bhani Kowrapara.	Maid-servant.	Begging due to lack of employment.
11. Kamala. -do-	Income of her brother-in-law (Dolo Kahar)	Beggar now due to Dolo's death.
12. Rangmati & her daughter. -Do-	Maid-servant.	Beggar now due to lack of employment & selling of land and assets at Rs. 50/-
13. Mother of Adhar Kahar. Kowrapara.	Son's income.	Son's death from starvation has reduced her to the position of a beggar.
14. Wife of Putul Kahar. Do.	Husband's income.	Beggar now because of husband's death from starvation.
15. Wife of Adhar Kahar. Do.	Do.	Do.
16. Mother of Kalicharan Kahar. Do.	Depending on son's income	Reduced to beggary due to son's death from starvation.
17. Mother of Jotiram Muchi. Muchipara	Family income.	Begging now due to Jotiram's death from starvation.
18. Wife of Jotiram Muchi Do.		
19. Wife & minor child of Chaitan. Do.	Do.	Do. Due to Chaitan's death from starvation.
20. Wife of Sashi. Do.	Do.	Do. Due to Sashi's death from starvation.
21. Kaloshasi Bagdi & her Mother. Do.	Maid-servant & Selling milk.	Reduced to beggary due to selling homestead at Rs. 60/- and illness resulting from starvation.
22. Thakurdasi Kowra, and 2 children (minor).	Maid-servant.	Reduced to beggary after mortgaging homestead and other assets including land of 1.5 Bgs. (for Rs. 100/-.)

APPENDIX III

Joint families separated.

Sl. No.	(A) Vill. Narailapara	P.S. Uluberia	Dt. Howrah, West Bengal.
1. Kanai Hazra & brother	..	One family (Pre-famine)	2 families (After famine).
2. Panchu Hazra &	"	2 Do.
3. Gostha Hazra & brother (Badal Hazra)	..	"	2 Do.
4. Kamal Hazra & son (Khada Hazra)	..	"	2 Do.
5. Mihilal Roy & brothers	..	"	2 Do.
6. Astham Dasi & son (Pachu Hazra)	..	"	2 Do.
7. Sannyasi Dolui & sister	..	"	2 Do.

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APPENDIX VI (Contd).

VIII. Dandirhat (24-Parganas), W. Bengal.

Muchipara.

1. Sashi	death ago	36.
2. Son of Fatik	" " "	..	..	..	6.
3. Jitiram	" " "	..	..	..	24.
4. Chaiton	" " "	..	..	..	40.

Kawrapara

1. Kabil Kahar's brother	..	..	..	age—?
2. Putul	" "	..	..	40 years.
3. Putul " daughter	..	..	..	2 months.
4. Pachu	..	..	..	40 years.
5. Dolo Kahar	..	..	..	30 "
6. Dolo Kahar's wife	..	..	..	20 "
7. " " son	..	..	..	2 years.
8. Panchu " son	..	..	..	16 years.
9. Adhar's daughter	..	..	..	8 years.
10. Habla's daughter	..	..	..	1 year.

VIII.—Pearapur (Hooghly), West Bengal.

No.	Name.	Age.	No.	Name.	Age.
1. Brother of Nitai Das	..	60	26. Daughter of Ratan Khelo	..	2
2. Son of Sannyasi Malik	..	5	27. Aunt of Sudarshan Mondal	..	60
3. Daughter of Kali Mondal	..	10	28. Daughter of -do-	..	40
4. Wife of Bansi Hati	..	30	29. Nani Mandal	..	35
5. Daughter of " "	..	3	30. Mother of -do-	..	60
6. " " Nani Das	..	4	31. Son of Nirvay Khelo	..	2
7. Brother of " "	..	30	32. Kartik Chowdhury	..	44
8. Mother-in-law of Ratai Baidya	..	60	33. Son of -do-	..	3
9. Grand daughter of Kedar Mondal	..	?	34. Wife of Dev Naran Midday	..	50
10. Wife of Purna Baidya	..	35	35. Sanatan Neye	..	55
11. Daughter of Tulsi Hati	..	?	36. Daughter of Subol Das	..	4
12. " Nani Mondal	..	3	37. Kalicharan Das	..	15
13. Grand-mother of Manmatha Bagh	..	70	38. Daughter of Kalicharan Das	..	3
14. Son of Sukumar Bagh	..	3	39. Son of Fakir Mondal	..	10
15. " " Bistu Hati	..	1 month.	40. Daughter of Nader Chand Das	..	3
16. " " Nabadwip Chatto	..	22	41. " " Panchanan Midday	..	1
17. Brother of " "	..	50	42. " " Bilaya Dasi	..	10
18. Nephew of " "	..	30	43. Mother of Ganesh Chowdhury	..	65
19. Another Nephew of " "	..	8	44. Daughter of Gokul Hati	..	3
20. " " " "	..	1	45. Durlav Santra	..	70
21. Son of Panchu Chatto	..	8	46. Giridhar Bagh	..	68
22. Daughter-in-law of Ratan Malik	..	25	47. Daughter of Do.	..	5
23. Mother-in-law -do-	..	70	48. " of Fakir Bagh	..	10
24. Daughter of Satya Dasi	..	14	49. Mother of Nanda Ghorai	..	50
25. Raj Narayan Midday	..	70	50. Nani Das	..	?
			51. Wife of Jotin Das	..	?
			52. " " Paran Mandal	..	?
			53. " " Bhuvan Mandal	..	?

53 died out of 1158 persons that lived in the village.

APPENDIX VII.
Families Wiped off

Families that became totally wiped out under the stress of the famine.

(A)	Vill. Narullapara	P.S. Uluheria	Dist. Howrah.
Serial No.	Head of tho family.		
1.	Ashtam Dasi		
2.	Badal Hazra		
3.	Nani Mondal		
4.	Sudhanya Purkait		
5.	Gangadhar Hazra		

Out of 65 families.

(B)	Vill. Pearapur.	P.S. Serampore.	Dist. Hooghly.
1.	Nanda Majhi.		
2.	Gouribala Dasi.		
3.	Khagen Patra.		
4.	Deben Malik.		

Out of 167 families.

(C)	Vill. Dandirhat, (Kowrapara).	P.S. Basirhat,	Dist. 24-Parg.
1.	Family of Putul Kahar		
2.	" " Dolo "		
3.	" " Kalieharan "		
4.	" " Kalidas "		
5.	" " Habla "		
6.	" " Hazra (No. 2) "		

Vide 'D' and 'E' below.

(D)	Dandirhat, (Muchipara)
1.	Family of Tarak Muchi
2.	" " Kusho
3.	" " Pagla
4.	" " Jotey
5.	" " Chaitan
6.	" " Fatik
7.	" " Uttam
8.	" " Sashi
9.	" " Habla
10.	" " Basudeb
(E)	Dandirhat, —(Baruipara)
1.	Family of Haran Roy
2.	" Lato Jiten Datta
3.	" " Jatin "
4.	" " Kalu Pal
5.	" " Manik Pal

(C) plus (D) & (E) equal 21 families out of 222 families (whole village).

(F)	Vill. Akaipur.	P.S. Bongaon.	Dist. Jessore. (now 24-Parg.).
1.	Kalo Sardar		
2.	Boto Sardar		

2 Out of 11 Families.

N.B. 32 families were wiped out from among 465 families. This means about 6.9% of the families that were surveyed were wiped out.

PART—IV.

EAST PAKISTAN SURVEY RESULTS.

§ 1. Small Peasants :

Data on five families alone are tabulated in the following two tables. A number of family cards or enquiry forms had to be cancelled for the lack of precise and adequate information. Statistics relating to fuller information on domestic economy and farm conditions of the aforesaid five families of small holders, as they are tabulated in the two tables below, show that the average family consists of 22.2% earners, 29.6% working dependents and 48.2% non-working dependents [Cols. (7) to (9), Table 1]; that the size of the average family comes up to 5.4 members [Col. (10), table 1]; that the by-occupation of the families surveyed is "day labour and fishing" [Col. (11), Table 1]; that a family became landless by the sale of its only bigha of land at Rs. 160 [Cols. (12) & (13), Table 1]; that the remaining four families, after selling out 1.8 bighas of their cultivable lands at Rs. 430, had yet left to them 9.5 bighas in the aggregate which gives out an average of 2.4 bighas or .8 acre per family—obviously too insignificant and inadequate a quantity even for a tolerable existence for 5.4 members of the average family. The average amount of homestead land per family is in the neighbourhood of .7 bigha or .23 acres [Col. (4), table 2]. Figures of Table 2 reveal the depth of distress sustained by the families in the famine months in as much as a variety of family assets had to be sold out to cope with growing scarcity and high prices of food articles. It is generally known that the small holders, such as described here, have very few earthly goods in their possession or ownership. Almost all the little bits of things that these families used to own were drained out. For instance, speaking of all the families taken as a whole, they disposed of lands at a price of Rs. 590, cattle & others at Rs. 18, furniture & utensils at Rs. 72—all told Rs. 680 or Rs. 136 per each family on the average [Cols. (5) to (9), Table 2]. Not only, however, were the families largely denuded of their assets—movable and immovable—but at the same time, the family debts mounted up considerably. As will be seen from Cols. (10) to (13) of table 2, hand loans equal to Rs. 40 and mortgage loans amounting to Rs. 310 or all told a debt of Rs. 350 was incurred during the famine months exclusively with a view to buying food, and the average debt burden was not small: it was of the order of Rs. 70 per family [Col. (13), Table 2].

SMALL PEASANTS

Table 1

Occupancy land (Bgs).	No. of fam.	Size of families (total)				% of family members (total)	
		Earner	W. D.	N.W.D.	Total	Earner	W. D.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
0	1	1	1	2	4	25	25
1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1-3	4	5	7	11	23	21.7	30.4
Total	5	6	8	13	27	22.2	29.6

% of family members	Av. Size of fam.	By-occupa- tion (No. of fam.)	Land sold		Occupancy holding remain- ing.	
			(Bgs.)	(Rs.)	Total (Bgs)	Av. fam. (Bgs.)
N. W. D.		Day lab. & Fishing				
9	10	11	12	13	14	15
50	4.0	1	1.0	160	..	..
..
47.8	5.8	4	1.8	430	9.5	2.4
48.2	5.4	5	2.8	590	9.5	..

Table 2

Occupancy land (Bgs).	No. of fam.	Homestead remaining.		Family assets sold (Rs.)		
		Total (Bgs.)	Av. fam. (Bgs.)	Land	Cattle & Ora.	Furni- ture & Utensils
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
0	1	0.5	0.5	160	..	..
1	..	..	..	..	..	..
1-3	4	3.1	.8	430	18	72
Total	5	3.6	.7	590	18	72

Family assets sold (Rs.)		Famine debts (Rs.)			
Total	Av. fam.	Hand loans.	Mortg. loans.	Total	Av. fam.
8	9	10	11	12	13
160	160	40	..	40	40
520	130	..	310	310	77.5
680	136	40	310	350	79

§ 2. Middle Peasants :

Among all the families from which elaborate data were collected, only five happened to be in the category of "middle peasants." The quantity of land they owned and cultivated is the basis of the classification. In table 1 below the average family is shown as consisting of 7.6 members [Col. (10)]. The economic status of the members of the family is explained in Cols. (3) to (8), Table 1. From Cols. (6) to (8) of the same table it will be seen that 34.2% of the total members were earners, 31.6% working dependents and 34.2% non-working dependents. From table 2, it will be realised that a majority of the families supplemented the cultivation of occupancy holdings or their own lands by that of *barga* or share-cropped lands with a view to augmenting their incomes. The amount of occupancy land was 8.4 bighas and that of *barga* land 7.4 bighas per each family on the average [Cols. (6) & (7), Table 2]. But Table 2, Col. (8) shows that during the difficult days of the famine, the families in question could not manage to carry on the pre-famine scale of *barga* cultivation and, in consequence, as a part of it had to be given up, the size of the average farm diminished. Two of the families sold out 11 bighas of homestead and kitchen garden lands at Rs. 1100; the amount of homestead land that remained was 1.04 bigha per each family on the average [Cols. (9) to (12), Table 2]. The assets of the families that were sold out and their respective sale prices were as follows: Homestead land at Rs. 1100, cattle at Rs. 540, ornaments at Rs. 342 and other assets at Rs. 71; the total price was Rs. 2053 and the average per family Rs. 410.6 [Cols. (3) to (8), Table 3]. From Cols. (3) to (8) of Table 4, the incidence of family debts may be known: a total of Rs. 150 was borrowed against the mortgage of land, Rs. 25 against the security of other assets and the total mortgage debt including the interest came up to Rs. 197. This sum was borrowed during the famine. The pre-famine total debt was to the tune of Rs. 200; all of this was hand loan, that is, by means of verbal contract and strictly on the basis of mutual confidence. Hand loans incurred during the famine months were to the extent of Rs. 110 and the interest accumulated on this sum was Rs. 58 at the time of survey. The total of mortgage loans and hand loans, of pre-famine and famine-time loans, coupled with interest charges, amounted to Rs. 565 for all the families or Rs. 113 per each family on the average [Cols. (9) & (10), Table 4].

MIDDLE PEASANTS

Table 1

Occupancy land (Bgs)	No. of fam.	Size of families (all)		
		Earner	W.D.	N.W.D.
1	2	3	4	5
1—5	2	8	6	6
6—10	2	4	3	4
11—15	1	1	3	3
Total	5	13	12	13

% of family members (all)			Total mem- bers. (No.)	Av. Size of family (No.)
Earners	W. D.	N. W. D.		
6	7	8	9	10
40	30.0	30.0	20	10
36.4	27.2	36.4	11	5.5
14.2	42.9	42.9	7	7
34.2	31.6	34.2	38	7.6

Table 2

Occupancy land (Bgs)	No. of fam.	Total holdings (Bgs)			Av. family Holding (Bgs)
		Occu- pancy.	Barga (pre- famine)	Barga (post- famine.)	
1	2	3	4	5	6
1—5	2	10	23	6	5
6—10	2	17	14	10	8.5
11—15	1	15	..	..	15.0
Total	5	42	37	16	8.4

Av. family holding (Bgs.)		Homestead land sold		Homestead land remaining	
Barga (pro famine)	Barga (Post famine)	(Bgs)	(Rs.)	All fam.	Av. fam.
7	8	9	10	11	12
11.5	3.0	..	..	1.2	0.6
7.0	5.0	11	1100	2.0	1.0
..	..	..	..	2.0	1.0
7.4	3.2	11	1100	5.2	1.04

Table 3

Occupancy land (Bgs)	No. of fam.	Family assets sold (Rs.)				Total assets sold (Rs.)	Assets sold per av. fami- ly (Rs.)
		Home- stead	Cattle	Orna- ments	Other assets		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1—5	2	..	275	150	61	486	243.0
6—10	2	1100	265	140	..	1505	752.5
11—15	1	..	..	52	10	62	62.0
Total	5	1100	540	342	71	2053	410.6

MIDDLE PEASANTS (Contd.)

Table 4

Occupancy land (Bgs)	No. of fam.	Mortgage loans against—		
		land (Rs.)	Other assets (Rs.)	Interest. (Rs.)
1	2	3	4	5
1—5	..	150	..	13
6—10	..	..	25	9
11—15	..	..	..	..
Total	..	150	25	22
Hand loans			Mort. & Hand loans (with int.)	
Pre-famine (Rs.)	Famine time (Rs.)	Interest (Rs.)	Total (Rs.)	Av. fam. (Rs.)
6	7	8	9	10
150	30	47	390	195.0
..	30	11	75	37.5
50	50	..	100	100.0
200	110	58	565	113.0

Middle Peasants of Vill. Harishankarpur.

P. S. Kushitia.
Dt. Nadia (now, Kushitia)
E. Pakistan.

Nature &
Extent of holding.

No.	Name	Occupancy lands		Share- cropped land.	Occupancy land given out in share- cropping.
		Sub-let on Cash rent	Personal cultiva- tion.		
1.	Dulu Sheik	...	x	20 Bgs.	7 Bgs.
2.	Rasik Khan.	...	x	14 Bgs.	x
3.	Kochhimaddi Mistri.	...	x	30 "	x
4.	Rahaman Paramanik.	...	x	25 "	10 Bgs.
5.	Haibat Mondol.	...	x	15 Bgs.	13 "
6.	Jabbar Khan.	...	x	14 Bgs.	9 "
7.	Jalil Mondol.	...	3 Bgs.	25 "	3 "
8.	Hurmat Ali.	...	x	25 "	x
9.	Alladi Mondol.	...	12 Bgs.	8 "	7 Bgs.

Typical Instances :

Two Middle Peasants

Vill.—Nagarpara Beharia.

P.S.—Khoksa

Dt.—Nadia. (now Kushtia, E. Pakistan)

Head of the Family	Members of the family
(1) Jibankrishna Pramanik	7 male adults.
	4 female „
	6 children.

1942	1943 (Nov.)
<p>Ho</p> <p>Cultivated-</p> <p>14 Bighas personal occupancy lands</p> <p>7 Bighas Barga land.</p> <p>Had-</p> <p>Home-stead 2 Bgs. land and 7 rooms (thatched & corrugated tin)</p> <p>Raised paddy enough for the family for the whole year</p> <p>Owned -</p> <p>Two ploughs</p> <p>4 bullocks.</p> <p>- A Mango garden consisting of about 80 trees that bore fruits regularly.</p> <p>- Three cows.</p> <p>He has nothing left except fallow land and the homestead (the rooms are all dilapidated) and a few trees in his erstwhile imposing mango garden.</p> <p>His health is badly damaged by continual fasting.</p>	<p>Sold-</p> <p>-Ornaments worth Rs. 150/-</p> <p>-Three Cows „ 100/-</p> <p>-2 bullocks „ 100/-</p> <p>-1 bullock „ 17/-</p> <p>„ „ - ?</p> <p>-One Plough - 1/-</p> <p>„ „ - ?</p> <p>sold One room made of corrugated tins at Rs. 52/-</p> <p>Gave up 'Barga' cultivation.</p> <p>Borrowed Rs. 60/- against the mortgage of 2½ bighas of cultivable land ; got Rs. 30/- against that of 1½ Bgs. at 37½ % interest.</p> <p>Borrowed as hand loan Rs. 150/- at 24% inst.</p>

TWO MIDDLE PEASANTS (contd.)

(2) Zabeed Ali. Vill.—Gaderchar. P. S.—Narsingdi, Dt.—Dacca, E. Pakistan.

Assets & liabilities	In 1936	1942	1943/04
Assets :		2½ bighas	2½ bighas
1. Cultivable Land	18 to 20 bighas	('Benami' in daughter's name)	('Benami' in daughter's name)
2. Homestead :—a)	a) 4 bighas	(a) 4 bighas	(a) 4 bighas
land b) houses	b) 7 big thatched rooms.	(b) 2 rooms sold 5 remaining	(b) only one dilapidated thatched hut.

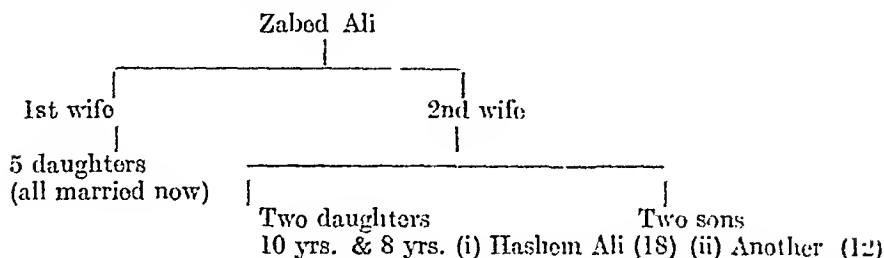
Zabed Ali (cond.)

Assets	In 1936	1942	1943 Oct.
3. Vegetable Garden : (a) land (b) varieties	a) 10 kathas b) Brinjal & vegetables	(a) as in 1936 (b) Do	(a) as in 1936 (b) Nil
4. Trees :—(e) Mango (b) Jackfruit (c) Betel nut	(a) 25 (b) 15 (c) 2	(a) Do. (b) Do. (c) Do.	(a) Only 2 one (b) only three (c) Nil
5. Trees & Plants :— (a) Bombays (b) Banana	(a) about 750 pieces (b) 25	(a) Do. (b) Do.	(a) Half remaining (b) 8 or 10
6. Cultivation equipment :— (a) Plough (b) Bullocks	(a) 4 (b) 8	(a) Nil (b) Nil	(a) Nil (b) Nil
7. Cattle :—(a) Cow & (b) Calf Poultry (c) Hen (d) Goat	(a) 2 (b) 4 (c) 12 (d) 4	as in 1936	Nil
8. Kishans (Farm labour) on monthly wages employed.	5	Nil	Nil
9. Seasonal Farm labour employed.	20 to 25	Nil	Nil
10. Utensils :— (a) Brass Dik (cooking pot) (b) Drinking pot (c) Washing pot (Badna) (d) Bel-metal plates (e) do. spoons (f) Bowl (g) Brass pitcher	(a) 5 (b) 7 (c) 2 (d) 9 (e) one set (f) Do. (g) 5	as in 1936 Do. Do. Do. Do. Do. Do.	Only one 'Badna' (washing pot) one drinking pot and two spoons remaining.
Liability : Items	Amount	Remarks	
1. Mortgage against non-payment of wages to one of his farm labourers	Two bighas cultivable land mortgaged.	All cultivable land excepting 2½ bighas (Benami) passed out of hand :— 2 bighas to Madan Koibarta & the rest to Zamindar to pay off debt & interest.	—
2. Debts— (a) Cash loan	(a) (i) Rs. 100/- to Rs. 125/- from Madan Koibarta of Anandi (ii) Rs. 50 from Zamindar.		—
(b) Arrears of rent	(b) Rs. 81-4-0 to zamindar.		

Zabed Ali (contd.)
Year—1943 October.

Genealogy

Zabed Ali (80) originally of Vill. Mahona, P.S. Rupgunge, Dacca, now of Vill. Gaderchar, P.S. Narsingdi, Dacca.



All the members excepting Hashem Ali and his brother are seriously weak and ill due to prolonged starvation. Those who can afford to walk, eat from guel kitchen at Madhabdi.

Hashem Ali was till the other day a student of the Duptara H. E. School, class VIII. Now he has been forced to give up studies, to earn as a day labourer, to feed himself and the members of the family. He is earning casually annas -/12/- a day by cleansing water-hyacinth and repairing roads.

Hashem Ali's younger brother and sisters read upto minor classes; the brother had to give up his studies and took to weaving for a monthly wage of Rs. 3/- at Bhagirathpur under one Sultan Mia.

§ 3. Agricultural Labourers :

Data on 14 agricultural labour families are arranged in the following 3 Tables. 13 of these are Muslim and 1 Hindu. The average Muslim labourer family consists of 4.9 members [Col. (7) Table 1]. The percentage of earners, working dependents and non-working dependents to the total number of members are 25.0, 20.3 and 54.7 respectively [Cols. (8) to (10) Table 1]. This shows a high proportion of non-working dependents to be supported by a low percentage of earners in the family. It was witnessed by the author in course of his investigations that the incidence of the famine-distress told very heavily upon the agricultural labourer class as a whole. Their debts mounted and this can be seen from Cols. (11) to (14) of Table 1: the average load of indebtedness per family came to be Rs. 12.2, but taking only the indebted families into account, it was much higher, namely, Rs. 31.8 per each family on the average. Table 2, Cols. (3) to (8), show that families in question sold out homestead at Rs. 555, cattle at Rs. 75, utensils at Rs. 99, ornaments at Rs. 547 and other items at Rs. 87; the total sale price was Rs. 1,364 for all the 13 Muslim families and Rs. 976 for the only Hindu family. In the case of the former, the sale of homestead land topped the list of all the items that were sold and this means some of the families became homeless, although [as shown in Col.

(15), Table 2] on the average there remained, in the wake of the famine, 7.5 Kathas of homestead land per family. The average sale price of assets per each Muslim family (including movables and homestead land) amounted to Rs. 104.9 [Col. (4), Table 3]. There were no starvation deaths in the families which are described here, but 7.8% of the members [Col. (9), Table 3] were maimed and rendered disabled owing to excessive hunger, fasting and insufficient nourishment.

AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS

Table 1

Caste	No. of fam.	Size of family				Av. size of fam.
		Earners	W. D.	N. W. D.	Total	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Muslim	13	16	13	35	64	4.9
Malo	1	1	..	7	8	8.0

% of total members			Total debts (Rs.)	No. of indebted fam.	Debt per fam. (av. of all)	Debt per fam. (av. of indebted fam.)
Earners	W. D.	N. W. D.				
8	9	10	11	12	13	14
25.0	20.3	54.7	159.0	5	12.2	31.8
12.5	..	87.5	..	..	..	..

Table 2

Caste	No. of fami- lies.	Assets sold in Rs.					
		Home- stead	Cattle	Uten- sils.	Orna- ments	Others	Total
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Muslim	13	555	76	99	547	87	1364
Malo	1	950*	20	..	..	6	976

% of Sale of different items to total					Homestead land remaining (Kts.)	
Home- stead	Cattle	Utensils.	Orna- ments	Others	All fam.	Av. fam.
9	10	11	12	13	14	15
40.7	5.6	7.3	40.1	6.4	97	7.5
97.3	2.0	..	..	0.7	..	..

*Entire homestead and garden were sold out.

Agricultural Labourers (contd.)

Table 3

Caste	No. of fam.	No. of persons	Av. of Sale of assets per fam. (Rs.)	Home- stead remain- ing per fam. (Kts)	No. of deaths	No. of disabled	% of death	% of dis- abled
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Muslim	13	64	104.9	7.5	..	5	..	7.5
Malo	1	8	976.0*	..	..	..	..	..

*Entire homestead and garden were sold out and cattle and other things, too.

DAILY WAGES OF AGRICULTURAL LABOURER.
(EAST PAKISTAN)

Month & year.	Vills. (1) Mongalberia (2) Kamalapur P.S. Kushtia Dt. Nadia (Pre-par- tition) Dt. Kushtia (Post- partition)			Vill. Nagarpura- Beharia P.S. Khoksa Dt. Nadia (Pre-P) Dt. Kushtia (Post-P)			Vill— Maulhabli P.S. Nar- singdi Dt. Dacca		
	Rs.	As.	P.	Rs.	As.	P.	Rs.	As.	P.
Sept. 1942	as. 4	plus food*		as. 5	plus food		as. 4 to 8		
Oct. '42		Do.		Do.			plus food.		
Nov. '42		Do.		Do.			Do.		
Dec. '42		Do.		Do.			Do.		
Jan. '43		Do.		Do.			Do.		
Feb. '43		Do.		Do.			Do.		
Mar. '43		Do.		Do.			Do.		
Apl. '43		Do.		Do.			Do.		
May. '43		Do.		Do.			Do.		
Jun. '43		Do.		as. 2 plus food			Do.		
Jul. '43	as. 12	plus food*		Do.			Do.		
Aug. '43		Do.		Do.			as. 12 plus food.		
Sept. '43		Do.		Do.			Do.		
Oct. '43		Do.		Do.			Do.		
Nov. '43		Do.		Do.			Do.		

*For a domestic labourer, the rate was as. 8 in cash and no food; for a wood-cutter it was as. 6 and no food. These rates continued to prevail in subsequent months till July 1943 when the rate for the former varied between Re. 1 and Re. 1½ to Re. 1½ (cash only) and for the latter was Re. 1½ (cash only).

§ 4. Factory Workers :

The following tables include an account of 17 families whose main source of livelihood consisted in factory employment. They came from 4 villages (Harisankarpur, Mangalberia, Kāmālapur and Chhourey) in two Police Stations (Kushtia and Kumarkhali) of the Nadia District, now renamed Kushtia District, of East Pakistan. The classification of families in the Tables below is based on the range of monthly wages earned. It may be noted that they were all employed at the Kushtia Mohini (Cotton Weaving) Mills Limited. From Cols. (2) to (6) of Table 1 it appears that the 17 families consisted of 80 persons or that there were 4.7 persons per family on the average. A peculiarity is that the families in question included a fairly large proportion of working dependents, the number being 19, that is, almost equal to the number of earners which was 20. Cols. (3) & (5) of Table 1 show that per each earner there was about 2 non-working dependents. From Cols. (4), (5) and (6) of Table 2, it will be seen that of the total members of the families, 25% was earners, 23.7% working dependents and 51.3% non-working dependents. Total monthly wages came up to Rs. 485 [Col. (7), Table 1] for all the 17 families taken together or the average family income from factory employment was to the extent of Rs. 28.5 per month. This worked out at a *per capita* income of Rs. 6 per month [Col. (7), Table 2] which was obviously too low judged by any standard of living, specially in the days of absolute scarcity and unprecedented inflation that the months of the famine proved to be. A tragic element that is emphasised by figures of Table 1 is that one of the families (belonging to the Zero income group) lost its employment due to physical disablement caused by starvation and all the four members of the family were reduced to beggary.

By-occupations of some of the families consisted in working as day labourers, in basket-making, rope-making and agriculture; but incomes from these sources were really negligible: Rs. 7 per month for all the 17 families taken together as is shown by Cols. (8) to (10) of Table 1. To tide over the distress, the families sold out most of their movable assets at a total price of Rs. 1064 [Col. (14) of Table 1] or Rs. 62.6 per family [Col. (10), Table 2]. The distress was, however, so acute that most of the families were compelled to sell parts of their homestead lands totalling 105 *Kuthas* or 1.8 acres at Rs. 608 [Cols. (11) & (12) of Table 1]. This means that each family on average sold 6.2 *Kuthas* of homestead land at Rs. 35.8 [Col. (8), Table 2]. Homestead land remaining after the famine was equal to 6.9 *Kuthas* per family [Col. (9), Table 2].

It will, however, be noticed that the famine not only drained away most of the movable and about half of the immovable properties of the families concerned, but it heaped a burden of deadweight debt on them. As Col. (15) of Table 1 shows, the total debts of all the families together came up to Rs. 436 or Rs. 25.6 per family, and as many as 16 out of the 17 families became involved in debts [Col. (11) of Table 2].

FACTORY WORKERS

Table 1

Monthly Income. Rs.	No. of fami- lies	Size of the family					Total wages in Rs.	By- occupation Day lab. Rs.
		Earners	W. D.	N. W.	D.	Total		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
0	1	1	1	2	4	..	..
1— 25	8	8	8	20	36	167	2	
6— 50	7	10	9	15	34	233	2	
51— 75	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
76—100	1	1	1	4	6	85	..	
Total	17	20	10	41	80	485	4	

By-occupation		Homestead sold		Homestead remaining	Orna-ments & other movable assets sold.	Debt/s
Basket making Rs.	Agri. & rope making Rs.	Land in kts.	Amount in Rs.	in Kts.	Rs.	Rs.
9	10	11	12	13	14	15
..	1	30	100	3.5	95	2
..	..	30	276	25	451	211
1	..	45	232	89	518	225
..
1	..	..	..	..	..	..
2	1	105	608	117.5	1064	436

Table 2

Monthly income in Rs.	No. of fam.	No. of persons.	P. C. to total family members.		
			Earners	Work. depdt.	N. W. Depdt.
1	2	3	4	5	6
0	1	4	25.0	25.0	50.0
1— 25	8	36	22.2	22.2	55.6
26— 50	7	31	20.4	26.5	44.1
51— 75	..	..	..	..	..
76—100	1	6	16.7	16.7	66.6
Total	17	80	25.0	23.7	51.3

Table 2 (Contd.)

Wages monthly per head (Rs.)	Per fam. sale of Homestead (Kts.)	Per fam. homestead remaining (Kts)	Per fam. sale of movable Assets (Rs.)	Per fam. debt, Rs.
7	8	9	10	11
..	100.0	3.5	95.0	2.0
4.6	34.5	3.1	56.4	26.4
6.9	33.1	12.7	74.0	32.1
..
14.2	..	..	..	..
6.0	35.8	6.9	62.6	25.6

§ 5. Cotton Handloom Weavers :

In the following two tables on "Cotton Handloom Weavers", some aspects of the economic conditions of 7 Muslim and 6 Hindu weaver families are studied. The classification of the families is made on the basis of looms owned. Among the Muslim weavers, one family owns 1 loom, another 3 looms and yet another 6 looms; 2 families own 2 looms each and the remaining 2 families have 4 looms each [Cols. (1) & (2), Table I]. The average Muslim weaver family consists of 13 members which are rather too numerous. Of the 22 looms operated by the 7 families in pre-famine normal times, each loom remained idle for an average period of one and a half months, that is, during 6 months (April-Oct. 1943) of the famine [Cols. (5) & (6), Table 1]. Before April 1943, 35 *Karigars* or loom operators recruited from outside the members of the family used to be employed by the 7 families taken as a whole, but owing to food scarcity (for *Karigars* have got to be fed by the employer or employers), 10 persons less were employed during the famine period [Cols. (7) & (8), Table 1]. The pre-famine expenses, in food and cash wages, for employing a *Karigar* was Rs. 14.6 per month on the average, but these increased to Rs. 60 to Rs. 70 per month [Cols. (9) & (10), Table 1]. Hence the unemployment in the ranks of *Karigars*. Owing to higher prices of food and other articles and lack of sufficient income, the 7 Muslim weaver families withdrew and consumed a part of the capital employed in weaving, namely, to the extent of Rs. 4043 which gives out an average of Rs. 577.6 per family [Cols. (11) & (12), Table 1]. Loans had to be incurred and assets mortgaged,—the over-all volume of debt per family amounting to Rs. 250 on the average [Cols. (13) to (15), Table 1].

The position of the 6 Hindu weaver families was no better : Of course, the average size of the family was smaller than in the case of their Muslim compatriots (5.8 members per each family); the capital employed in the trade or craft was eaten up to the extent of Rs. 123.8 [Col. (12), Table 2] and a loan was incurred to the tune of Rs. 165.3 [Col. (15), Table 2] per each family on the average. In their case, too, the cost of maintaining *Karigars* having increased from Rs. 12.3 in pre-famine days to anywhere between Rs. 32 and Rs. 62 during the famine [Cols. (9) & (10), Table 2], the number of *Karigars* employed in famine months dropped from 7 to 3 in the respective periods [Cols. (7) & (8), Table 2], and the working period of each loom (there being 9 looms in all) was reduced by 1.4 month on the average [Col. (6), Table 2] in course of 6 months between April and October, 1943.

COTTON HANDLOOM WEAVERS

VIII.—Algi & Others ; Dt.—Dacca ; East Pakistan.

Table 1
Muslim Weavers

Looms owned.	No. of families.	No. of persons (all families.)	Av. size of family (No.)	Looms working & idle.		Hand loom operators (Koris r.)	
				Working pre-famine (No.)	Av. loom idle for famine (months)	Pre-famine (No.)	Famine time (No.)
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1	1	6	6	1	1	1	1
2	2	33	16.5	4	2	7	5
3	1	9	9	3	4	6	6
4	2	32	16	8	..	13	13
5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
6	1	11	11	6	4	8	..
Total	7	91	13	22	1.5	35	25

Table 2
Hindu Weavers

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1	3*	13	4.3	3	2.3	3	1
2	3**	22	7.3	6	1	4	2
Total	6	35	5.8	9	1.3	7	3

Table 1 (Contd.)
Muslim Weavers

Monthly wages of a loom operator		Capital eaten up during famine		Hand loans (all fam.)	Assets mortgaged (all fam.)	Total debt per av. fam.
Pre-famine Rs.	Famine time Rs.	All fam.	Av. fam.			
9	10	11	12	13	14	15
16	60	150	150	150	..	150
16	71	643	321.5	800	300	570
15	70	650	650	..	..	..
14	70	1600	800	500	..	250
..
15	..	1000	1000	..	..	..
14.6	..	4043	577.6	1450	300	250

Table 2 (Contd.)
Hindu Weavers

9	10	11	12	13	14	15
14	32	193	64.3	150	100	83.3
11	62	550	183.3	662	80	247.3
12.3	..	743	123.8	812	180	195.3

* One family mortgaged its only loom for Rs. 100 for buying food.

** Two families sold out one loom each for a total sum of Rs. 500/- for buying food.

§ 6. Loomless Weavers (Karigars) :

Loomless weavers are those who can weave but having no looms of their own, hire themselves out to weavers owning a surplus of loomage. They are skilled workers known as *Karigars* or hired loom operators employed on monthly cash wages plus food. They either stay on in the employer's family or, having their own shelter and home, daily go out to work for the employer at the latter's residence or establishment normally for 8 to 10 hours a day. Data on 22 such families were collected and these are tabulated in the following three tables on "Loomless Weavers (*Karigars*). Their classification is done on the basis of the pre-famine scale of monthly cash wages, including the value of food at the then current prices. From Cols. (1), (2) & (9) of Table 1, it will be seen that in the case of 9 such families, the monthly income per family ranges between Rs. 1 and Rs. 15 or is Rs. 11.4 on the average, whereas the average size of the family constitutes 4.6 members [Col. (4), Table 1]. In case of 11 families, the average monthly income comes up to Rs. 21.6, the average family consisting of 4.4 members. Finally, in case of 2 families, the average monthly income runs to the extent of Rs. 38, there being 4 members in the family on the average. The average for all the families considered as a whole is as follows : monthly income—Rs. 18.9 ; size of the family—4.4 members. It will be noticed from Cols. (5) to (8) of Table 1 that apart from the earnings from weaving some income is earned from by-occupations, such as, agriculture and others. Of the total income, 75% is derived from the main source of livelihood, viz., weaving ; 1% from agriculture and 24% from other sources [Cols. (10) to (12), Table 1].

Table 2 shows the extent of assets being sold and mortgaged due to the distress caused by the famine. For instance, 70 *Kathas* of homestead land were sold at Rs. 90 and other assets at Rs. 72.5,—total Rs. 162.5, the average sale price per family being Rs. 7.4 [Cols. (3) to (7), Table 2]. Total homestead land remaining in the possession of the 22 families as a whole was 68 *Kathas* of which, however, 38 *Kathas* were mortgaged against a loan of Rs. 435 yielding an interest of Rs. 18 [Cols. (8) to (11), Table 2]. The total mortgage loan was to the tune of Rs. 456 and the total hand loans Rs. 246 [Cols. (6) and (5), Table 3]. The average of these totals works out at Rs. 31.9 per each family [Col. (7), Table 3]. Starvation deaths amounted to 2.1% of the survivors ; persons disabled by starvation constituted 23.7% and the incidence of unemployment was of the order of 15.5 % of the total membership. [Cols. (8) to (13), Table 3].

LOOMLESS WEAVERS (KARIGARS)

VIII.—Algi & Others ; Dt.—Dacca ; East Pakistan.

Table 1

Range of wages (Rs.)	No. of fam.	No. of persons (Total)	Av. size of fam.	Monthly income (Rs.)	
				Weaving (all fam.)	Agri. (all fam.)
1	2	3	4	5	6
1—15	9	41	4.6	97	..
16—30	11	48	4.4	162	..
31—45	2	8	4.0	53	4
Total	22	97	4.4	312	4

Loomless Weavers (karigars)

Table 1 (contd.)

Monthly income (Rs.)		Monthly wages per fam. (Rs.)	% of income from		
Other sources (all fam.)	Total (all fam.)		Weaving.	Agri.	Others.
7	8	9	10	11	12
6	103	11.4	94.2	..	5.8
75	237	21.6	68.4	..	31.6
19	76	38.0	69.7	5.3	25.0
100	416	18.9	75.0	1.0	24.0

Table 2

Range of wages (Rs.)	No. of fam.	Assets sold by all families				Assets sold per fam.
		Land (home-stand) (Kts)	Amount (Rs.)	Others (Rs.)	Total (Rs.)	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1-15	9	30	30	30	60	6.7
16-30	11	40	60	18	78	7.1
31-45	2	..	..	24.5	24.5	12.2
Total	22	70	90	72.5	162.5	7.4

Assets mortgaged by all families

Home-stand remaining (Kts)	Home-stand (Kts)	Loan (Rs.)	Interest (Rs.)	Other assets (Rs.)	Total (Rs.)
8	9	10	11	12	13
36	28	300	..	..	300
10	10	135	18	3	156
22	..	..	..	..	..
68	38	435	18	3	456

Table 3

Range of wages (Rs.)	No. of fam.	Hand Loans (all fam.)			Total mort. loans (all fam.) (Rs.)	Total debt per av. fam. (Rs.)
		Amt. (Rs.)	Int. (Rs.)	Total (Rs.)		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1-15	9	22	..	22	300	35.8
16-30	11	201	23	224	166	34.5
31-45	2	..	..	..	..	..
Total	22	223	23	246	456	31.9

Loomless Weavers (karigars)

Table 3 (contd.)

Starvation deaths		Starvation disabled		Unemployed	
No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
8	9	10	11	12	13
1	2.1	12	29.3	6	14.6
1	2.1	7	14.6	8	16.7
..	..	4	50.0	1	12.5
2	2.1	23	23.7	15	15.5

§ 7. Unskilled Loom Labourers :

24 families come within the category of "unskilled loom labourers". They, however, exclude 16 other families whose main earners were widowed women but who had been employed as unskilled loom labourers before the out-break of the famine. They are listed in § 8 coming next to this Section. In the following two tables on "Unskilled Loom Labourers", the 24 unskilled loom workers are classified on the basis of the size of the family. The average family consists of 5.5 members [Col. (4), Table 1] while the average monthly income per family, including income from weaving and from the subsidiary employment as day labourer, amounts to Rs. 23.4 [Col. (8), Table 1]. Cols. (9) & (10) of Table 1 show that 80.4% of the total income is derived from weaving and 19.6% is earned as day labourer. Table 2 as a whole reflects the depth of misery and loss sustained by these families during the famine months. The total value of assets sold averages at Rs. 19.1 per family [Cols. (3) & (4), Table 2]; hand loans incurred run up to Rs. 6.2 per family [Cols. (7) & (8), Table 2]; money borrowed against the mortgage of homestead lands comes up to Rs. 8.7 per family [Cols. (9) to (11), Table 2]. The total debt burden per each family amounts to Rs. 14.9 on the average [Col. (12), Table 2], which does not appear to be excessive. This is because of low credit-worthiness of the families under discussion. The proportion of starvation deaths to the total number of survivors works up to 3% while that of the famine-disabled persons mounts up to 21.1%. [Cols. (14) & (16), Table 2].

UNSKILLED LOOM LABOURERS

Table 1

Size of fam.	No. of fam.	No. of persons (total)	Size of av. fam. (No.)	Monthly Income	
				Wages from weaving (Rs.)	
1	2	3	4	5	
1-3	5	14	2.8	59.5	
4-6	12	63	5.3	267.1	
7-10	7	56	8.0	153.8	
Total	24	133	5.5	480.4	

UNSKILLED LOOM LABOURERS

Table 1 (Contd)

Monthly Income		Monthly av. income per fam. (Rs.)	% of income from	
Wages day lab (Rs.)	Total (Rs.)		Weaving.	Day Lab.
6	7	8	9	10
44.7	75.2	15.0	40.6	59.4
45.0	312.1	26.0	85.6	14.4
20.0	173.8	24.8	88.5	11.5
109.7	561.1	23.4	80.4	19.6

Table 2

Size of fam.	No. of fami- lies.	Assets sold (Rs.)		Homestead land remaining		Hand loans	
		All fam.	Av. fam.	All fam.	Av. fam.	Total	Av. fam.
				(Kts)	(Kts)		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1-3	5	40	8.0	25	5.0	10	2.0
4-6	12	54.5	4.5	12.5	1.04	32	2.7
7-10	7	364.0	52.0	12.0	1.7	106	15.1
Total	24	458.5	19.1	49.5	2.1	148	6.2

Assets mortgaged			Total debt per fam.	Starvation death		Starvation disabled	
Land (Kts)	Loan Total (Rs.)	Loan Av. fam. (Rs.)		Total (No.)	%	Total (No.)	%
9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
..	..	..	2.0	4	23.6	7	50.0
80	109	9.1	11.8	..	..	10	15.9
20	100	14.3	29.4	..	..	11	19.6
100	209	8.7	14.9	4	3.0	28	21.1

§ 8 WIDOW (UNSKILLED) LOOM WORKERS

P. S. Narsingdi, Dt. Dacca, E. Pakistan.

N. B. All are Muslim except Nos. 5 & 14.

No.	Name & Village.	Members (a) Earners. (b) Working Dep. (Pre-famine) (c) Non "	Daily income per family (Pre-famine)	Assets remain- ing (after famine).	Condition after Famine.
I	II	III	IV	V	VI
1.	Aimon Bibi (Nowpara)	(a) Self & daughter. (b) x (c) 2 others.	6 as.	One thatched hut.	Sick, weak, unemployed, starving.
2.	Moinon Bibi (Birampur)	(a) Self (b) one (c) Two	5 as.	One hut of Sugar-cane leaves.	All weak, unemployed.

§8. WIDOW (UNSKILLED) LOOM WORKERS (Contd.)

No.	Name & Village.	Members (a) Earners. (b) Working Dep. (c) Non	Daily income per family (Pre-famine)	Assets remain- ing (after famine).	Condition after Famine.
I	II	III	IV	V	VI
3.	Hazera Bibi. (Nurallapara)	(a) Self (b) One (c) Two	4 as.	None, Homeless	One Sick, all weak & unemployed.
4.	Alam Bibi. (Syamtoli)	(a) Self. (b) Two.	8 as.	A hut of cane leaves.	All disabled & unemployed.
5.	Surabala Dasi (Algi)	(a) Self. (b) One (c) Two	8 as.	One plate, one pot, one tin-shade.	All weak, emaciated, unemployed.
6.	Bibijan. (Nowpara)	(a) Self & 2 (c) Four	12 as.	One hut.	3 disabled, 4 Sick, all unemployed.
7.	Sameron Bibi. (Nurallapara)	(a) Self & 2. (c) One	(Weekly) Re. 1/-	One "Bodna" (washing pot). Homeless.	Disabled Self Others sick, unemployed.
8.	Sukumari Bibi. (Nagarbaniadi)	(a) Self & 1 (b) One (c) Two.	5 as.	One hut, debt Rs. 33/-	Unemployed.
9.	Mother of Chhipri Bibi. (Algi)	(a) Self & One (b) 1 Daughter. (c) Two sons.	5 as.	One tin house, 2 cows, 2 hens, 3 trees & 8 pots.	—
10.	Dukhia Bibi (Mahisadi).	(a) Self. (c) Two.	2½ as.	Homeless. No assets.	All very weak.
11.	Fulera Bibi. (Nurallapara).	(a) Self. (c) One.	3 as.	Do.	1 Disabled, 1 Sick & unemployed.
12.	Zabeda Bibi. (Gaderchar)	(a) Self & mother.	6 as.	1 tin-shade, 1 goat, 1 Mango tree.	Unemployed.
13.	Moghul Bibi. (Birampur).	(a) Self. (c) Two.	2½ as.	1 Drinking pot, 1 plate, 1 hut of cane leaves.	All disabled, unemployed.
14.	Hari Dasi. (Noakandi).	(a) Self.	(Monthly) Rs. 7½.	Homeless, No asset.	Self disabled, unemployed.
15.	Futehma Bibi. (Algi).	(a) Self. (c) Two	(Monthly) Rs. 8	1 brass "Bodna" (washing pot), 1 straw hut.	All weak, unemployed.
16.	Afzen Bibi. (Anand).	(a) Self.	1½ as.	1 straw hut. 1 Mango tree.	All weak & unemployed.

§9. ECONOMICS OF THE COTTON HANDLOOM WEAVING INDUSTRY

P. S.—Narsingdi. Dist.—Dacca. East Pakistan.

TABLE (A)

Production Capacity of a Loom per Week

Type of Loom	Pre-War Price per loom (1939)	Oct. 1943 Price per loom.	Length of Warp woven per week per loom.
1. Hattersley	Rs. 350/- to Rs. 400/-	Now not imported 2nd hand price Rs. 450/- to 500/-	900 Cubits
2. Chittaranjan or Japanese	Rs. 50/- to Rs. 80/-	Rs. 150/- to 200/-	600 ..
3. Seramporee	(not in use now) original price was Rs. 5/- to 7/-	-	300 ..

TABLE : B. (i)

Income from Weaving

Length of Warp.	Counts of Yarn used.	Description of cloth woven.	Pieces of Cloth woven.	Cost of Weaving (a) 1939 (b) 1943 (Apl.—Oct. Average).	Selling price (a) 1939. (b) 1943. (Apl.—Oct. Average).	Extent of Profits (a) 1939 (b) 1943 (April-Oct. Average).
400 Cubits	^S 40	Blue Sari	42 Pcs.	(a) Rs. 30/- (b) .. 135/-	(a) Rs. 47/- (b) .. 152/-	(a) Rs. 17/- (b) .. 17/-
600 ..	^S 22	Ordinary Sari	60 Pcs.	(a) Rs. 30/- (b) .. 120/-	(a) Rs. 41/- (b) .. 155/-	(a) Rs. 11/- (b) .. 35/-
500 ..	^S 22	Lungi	128 Pcs.	(a) Rs. 30/- (b) .. 100/-	(a) Rs. 42/- (b) .. 144/-	(a) Rs. 12/- (b) .. 44/-
500 ..	^S ^S 22 x 10 (Chocolate Colour).	Chaddar each about 5 Cubits long.	104 Pcs.	(a) Rs. 40/- (b) .. 135/-	(a) Rs. 65/- (b) .. 175/-	(a) Rs. 25/- (b) .. 40/-

TABLE B. (ii)

Length of Warp.	Description of cloth.	Profit.
600 Cubits	Blue Sari	(a) Pre-war (1939).-Rs. 25/8/- (b) Between April-Oct. 1943 on average .. Rs. 25/8/-
do	Ordinary Sari	(a) - Rs. 11/- (b) - Rs. 35/-
do	Lungi	(a) - Rs. 14-6-4 4/5 pice. (b) - Rs. 52-12-0 3/5 pice.
do	Chaddar	(a) - Rs. 30/- (b) - Rs. 48/-

TABLE C.

*Rate of Increment of Profit per loom per Week between
April-Oct. 1943 in comprison with the pre-war profits (1939).*

Type of Loom.	Productive capacity.	Range of Pre-war profit (1939)— (a) Minimum (b) Maximum	Range of Profit between April-Oct. 1943. (a) Minimum (b) Maximum	Range of Increment of Profit between April-Oct. 1943 (a) Minimum (b) Maximum.
Hattersley	900 Cubits	(a) Rs. 16-8-0 (b) „ 45-0-0	(a) Rs. 28-4-0 (b) „ 79-3-2 2/5	(a) by 76% (b) by 131.82%
Chitteranjan or Japance	600 „	(a) Rs. 11-0-0 (b) „ 30-0-0	(a) Rs. 25-8-0 (b) „ 52-12-9 3/5	(a) by 76% (b) by 131.82%

TABLE (D)

Price of Rice and rate of Profit compared

Items compared	Pre-war	Average Between April and Oct. 1943.	Rate of increment (average).
Price of Rice per Md.	Rs. 5/-	Rs. 40/- to Rs. 45/-	By 76% to 80%
Profit per warp of 600 Cubits	Rs. 11/- to Rs. 30/-	Rs. 25/8/- to Rs. 52/12/9 3/5 pice.	By 76% to 131.82%

TABLE E
Monthly Income of Weavers Calculated.

A man having	Capable of weaving per month.	In pre-war (1939) days : could earn a profit of—	Between April 1943 and Oct. 1943 : could earn a profit of—
One Hattersley	3600 Cubits long warp	(a) Rs. 66/- per month in the Minimum (b) Rs. 180/- per month in the maximum (c) Rs. 123/- per month on average over the whole year	(a) Rs. 153/- per month in the minimum (b) Rs. 316/- (roughly) per month (Max.) (c) Rs. 234/- (roughly) per month on average over the whole period.
Ono Chittaranjan or Japanee Loom	2400 Cubits long warp	(a) Rs. 44/- (minimum) (b) Rs. 120/- (maximum) (c) Rs. 82/- (average)	(a) Rs. 102/- (minimum) (b) Rs. 200/- (roughly) (maximum) (c) Rs. 156/- (roughly) (average)

TABLE F.

(Madhabdi Union ; P. S.—Narsingdi, Dt.—Dacca).
Local market price of the commodities of consumption.
 (Collected by the author from local shop-keepers' written account books.)

Items.	Quantity.	Aug. 1939.	Oct. 1942.	April to Oct. 1943 (Average)
1	2	3	4	5
1. Rice	1 Md. (i.e. 40 Srs.)	Rs. 5/-	Rs. 8/-	Rs. 40/- to 45/- (average)
2. Pulses	1 Sr. (i.e. 80 Tolas)	Rs. -/2/6	-/4/-	Rs. 65/- (Oct. 43) -/14/-
3. Salt	1½ "	-/1/6	-/2/6	-/5/-
4. Turmeric	1 "	-/4/-	-/8/-	1/-
5. Onion	1 "	-/1/6	-/2/-	-/1/-
6. Mustard Oil	1 "	-/6/-	-/8/-	2/-
7. Kerosene Oil	1 "	-/2/6	-/8/-	-/9/6
8. Vegetable	.	.	.	.
9. Potatoes	.	.	.	.
10. Milk	1 Sr.	-/2/-	-/4/-	-/5/-
11. Betel	.	.	.	.
12. Betelnut	1 "	-/6/-	1/12/-	2/4/-
13. Red pepper	1 "	-/2/6	-/6/-	-/10/-
14. Fish	1 "	-/4/-	-/6/-	-/10/-
15. Clothes	.	.	Short : 1/8/- Napkin : 1/-	Sari : Rs. 2/- Shirt : Rs. 2/- Lungi : Rs. 1/8/- Short : Rs. 1/8/- Napkin : Rs. 1/-

§10. Some Weavers' Standard of Living (Monthly) : April--Oct. 1943. (Average)

Commodities. Sl. No.	Weavers with <i>Looms</i> : (<i>Malhabli Union, P. S. Narsimh, Dera</i>)					Loomless Weavers *	
	1	2	3	1	5	1	2
	Gajadh Debnath 3 members.	Aawini Debnath 4 members.	Amresh Debnath 3 members.	Krishna Karnal Debnath 6 members.	Wajudli Mir 20 members.	Hachom Ali 1 member.	Torab Ali 1 member.
1. Rice	Rs. 78/- 2½ Srs.	Rs. 45/- 2½ Srs.	Rs. 195/- 5 Srs.	Rs. 130/- 3 Srs.	Rs. 450/- 10 Srs.	Rs. 81-11-0 2 Srs.	Rs. 81-11-0 2½ Srs.
2. Salt	Rs. 2/-	Rs. 1/-	Rs. 1/-	Rs. 4/-	4 "	..	..
3. Red Pepper	..	..	..	..	1½ "	Rs. 2/-	-/8/-
4. Turmeric (Haridra)	..	..	..	..	4 Srs.	1 Sr.	1 Sr.
5. Onion	3/4 Sr.	1 Sr.	2½ Srs.	3 Srs.	8 Srs.	1 Sr.	5 Srs.
6. Mustard Oil	Rs. 1/-	3 Srs.	8 Srs.	2 Srs.	16 "	1 "	1 "
7. Kerosene Oil	Rs. 3/-	Rs. 2 to 3	Rs. 1/- to 1/8/-	Rs. 8/-	Rs. 20/-	Rs. 2/-	Rs. 2/-
8. Fish	Rs. 2/-	..	Rs. 1/-	Rs. 8/-	Rs. 22/-	Rs. 2/-	Rs. 2/-
9. Vegetables.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
10. Potatoes	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
11. Egg.	..	Rs. 3/-	3½ Srs.	30 Srs.	32 Srs.	8 Srs.	..
12. Milk	..	Rs. 2/-	Rs. 1/-	..	Rs. 1/-	Rs. 1/-	-/8/-
13. Butol	Rs. 2/-	..	..	..	Rs. 4/-	..	..
14. Betelnut	..	..	..	..	20 Srs.	4 Srs.	3 Srs.
15. Pulses	5 Srs.	5 Srs.	10 Srs.	10 Srs.	..	..	..
16. Meat	..	..	Rs. 1/-	..	..	Rs. 2/12/-	Rs. 5/-
17. Cloth for whole year	Rs. 37/-	Rs. 38/-	Rs. 51/-	?	Rs. 10/-	..	..
Total expenses per month at the current prices of commodities (Apr.-Oct. average).	Rs. 90/12/- or 90/-	Rs. 82/1/0 or 82/-	Rs. 225/9/0 or 225/-	170/1/- excl. cloth expenses or (any) Rs. 180/-	757/8/- or 770/-	130/3/0 or 140/-	110/13/- or 140/-

*N. B. Their income (April-Oct.) varied from Rs. 30/- to Rs. 35/- per month on average. To meet the deficit, they borrowed, and sold and mortgaged household assets.

Some Weavers' Standard of Living. (Contd.)

I

Abdul Zalil (Village Algi, Union Madhabdi, P. S. Narsingli, Dacca).

Rice	..	..	Rs. 130	0	0	
Vegetable, Spices, Oil, etc.	..	..	..	12	0	0
Milk 8 Srs.	..	..	..	2	8	0
(Av. Apr.—Oct. 1943) Monthly	Total	Rs.	..	144	8	0

II

Ram Charan Saha (Village Algi).

	April—Oct. (average)	Pre-war (1939)
(1) Family Expenses	Rs. 175/-	Rs. 25/-
(2) Loom Workers' food & wages .. .. .	.. " 120/-	.. " 27/-
(3) Bleaching expenses .. .. .	.. " 80/-	.. " 5/-
(4) Warping .. .. .	.. " 16/-	.. " 10/-
(5) Transport cost .. .. .	.. " 2/-	.. " 1/-
(6) Bazar Tax .. .. .	.. " 1/-	.. " 1/-
(7) Miscellaneous .. .. .	.. " 2/8/-	.. " 1/-
Total Rs. ..	396/8/-	70/-
or ..	400/-	

III

Kismat Ali (Village Algi).

Rice	Rs. 1070/-	—
Vegetables & other bazar expenses .. .. .	.. 160/-	
Total Rs. ..	1230/-	

§11. Income & Expenditure of Some Weavers Compared.

Name	No. & Type of Loom	Income on full work during April-Oct. 1943 (6 months)	Loss from Looms being idle during April-Oct.	Net Income during Apr.-Oct. 1943 (6 months)
1	2	3	4	5
1. Ramcharan Saha	2 Chittaran-jan.	1872/-	312/-	1560/-
2. Kismat Ali	4 Hattersley	5610/-	.	5610/-
3. Abdul Zalil	1 Chittaran-jan.	936/-	234/-	702/-
4. Aswini Kumar Debnath	1 -do.	936/-	546/-	390/-
5. Amaresh Debnath	2 Hattersley	2808/-	1872/-	936/-
6. Krishna Kamal Debnath	1 Chittaran-jan.	936/-	.	936/-
7. Girish Debnath	1 -do.	936/-	624/-	312/-
8. Wazzaddi Meer	2 -do.	1872/-	468/-	1404/-

§11. Income & Expenditure of some Weavers Compared (Contd.)

Total expenses during April-Oct. 1943 (6 months)	Total deficit during April-Oct. 1943 (6 months)	Extent of Capital consumed during April-Oct. 1943.	Debt, outstanding in Oct. 1943.	Remarks.
6	7	8	9	10
1. 2400/-	840/-	400/-	250/-	190/- (Agricultural income)
2. 7350/-	1764/-	1000/-	400/-	364/- (Income from other sources)
3. 857/-	165/-	150/-	25/-	10/- (Other expenses)
4. 462/-	162/-	78/-	25/-	1/- Do.
5. 1350/-	414/-	150/-	320/-	56/- do.
6. 1050/-	144/-	115/-	43/-	14/- do.
7. 540/-	228/-	100/-	150/-	22/- do.
8. 4620/-	3216/-	1125/-	-	Income from Agriculture and other sources Rs. 2031/-

§ 12. Petty Traders :

Of all the families that were surveyed, only four may be placed within the category, "Petty Traders", in the sense defined above. * The next table, on "Petty Traders", shows that 3 of these 4 families were Hindu and the remaining one Muslim. The basis of classifying the families is the size of the family and not the range of capital employed, for no reliable figures were available. From Cols. (2) and (3), it will be seen that (the grand total) 17 persons were included in 4 families, thus giving 4.3 as the average size of the family. The adverse consequences of the famine are revealed by the fact that the 4 families taken together used up their trade capital to the extent of Rs. 230 [Col. (4)]; sold cattle at Rs. 30, ornaments at Rs. 502 and utensils at Rs. 103; thus, the total sale price of all the movable assets sold came up to Rs. 635 or Rs. 158.8 per average family [Cols. (5) to (9)]. Hand loans and mortgage loans mounted high during the famine months. Whereas the debt outstanding on the eve of the famine was only Rs. 16, it rose to Rs. 606 in November, 1943, of which Rs. 240/- was hand loan and Rs. 350 mortgage loan [Cols. (10) to (13)]. Thus, the incidence of total debts at the close of the famine was of the order of Rs. 151.5 per family on the average. [Col. (14)].

PETTY TRADERS

Size of fam.	No. of fam.	No. of persons.	Capital exhausted	Movable Assets sold (Rs.)		
				Cattle	Orna-ments	Uten-sils
(HINDU)						
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1—3	1	1	230	..	60	10
4—6	1	6	..	..	..	..
7—9	1	7	..	..	42	13
Total	3	14	230	..	102	23

(MUSLIM)

1—3	1	3	..	30	400	80
Grand total	4	17	230	30	502	103

(HINDU)

Mov. Assets sold		Hand loans & mortgage Debts.				Debt	
Total Rs.	Av. Rs.	Mort.	H. L. old.	Famine year.	Total	Av. family.	
8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
70	70	..	..	240	240	240	..
..	..	300	..	..	300	300	..
55	55	..	..	..	..	..	..
125	41.7	300	..	240	540	180	..

(MUSLIM)

510	510	50	16	..	66	66	1
635	158.8	350	16	240	606	151.5	1

§ 13. EDUCATED MIDDLE CLASS

*Indebtedness
of
Educated Middle Class
During
Famine Months
Kushtia town.*

No	Name.	Amount.	Place of residence.	Profession.
1.	Sristidhar Chakraborty.	Rs. 200/-	Couripara	Homeopath Doctor.
2.	Girija Kanta Roy	Rs. 170/-	Mill para	Mill employee.
3.	Rajendra Nath Bhaduri.	Rs. 150/-	Amlapara	Doctor.
4.	Krishna Gopal Acharjya.	Rs. 100/-	Do.	Jotedar.
5.	Sudhansu Mohan Roy	Rs. 150/-	Do.	Business.
6.	Sailen Sikder	Rs. 300/-	Aruapara	Gold Smith.
7.	Samarendra Narayan Sanyal.	Rs. 100/-	Do.	Mill employee.
8.	Manmatha Nath Dey.	Rs. 100/-	Kalisankarpur.	Do.
9.	Subodh K. Goswami.	Rs. 200/-	Amlapara	Shopkeeper.
10.	K. M. Azaharuddin	Rs. 400/-	Courtpara	Inspector of Schools
11.	Brojen Majumder.	Rs. 180/-	Millpara	Mill employee.

The above gives only an imperfect picture of the indebtedness of the gentlemen selected at random from Kushtia town, because to one Mr. Sudhir Roy (Habu Kabiraj) alone are they indebted to the extent explained above. They may as well happen to be indebted to persons other than Mr. Roy. The following is the list of other persons indebted to Mr. Roy:—

1.	Sushil Chandra Karmakar.	Rs. 10/-	Millpara	Gold Smith.
2.	Kanti Bhusan Sen.	Rs. 30/-	Barkhada	?
3.	Juran Chandra Seal.	Rs. 80/-	Kushtia	Barbar.
4.	Gosthābihari Majumder.	Rs. 15/-	Millpara	Mohini Mill employee
5.	Sashibhusan Majumder.	Rs. 40/-	Thanapara	Office employee.
6.	Manomohan Majumder.	Rs. 40/-	Amlapara	?
7.	Charubala Devi.	Rs. 25/-	Millpara	?

Indebtedness of Educated Middle Class (Contd.)

8.	Rabindra Nath Mukherjee.	Rs. 15/-	Amlapara	Pleader.
9.	Pratap Chandra Datta.	Rs. 30/-	Do.	?
10.	Dr. Kalisankar Bhattacharjee.	Rs. 15/-	Couripara	Doctor.
11.	Asit Kumar Roy.	Rs. 30/-	?	Business man.
12.	Prafulla Chatterjee.	Rs. 16/-	Millpara	Mill worker.
13.	Saroj Kumar Gupta.	Rs. 15/-	Thanapara	I. B. Employee.
14.	Nikhil Ranjan Acharya.	Rs. 25/-	Amlapara	?
15.	Priya Nath Sikdar.	Rs. 10/-	Amlapara	Doctor.

§ 14. Widowed Women :

The following table shows the economic difficulties of the 7 families whose main earners were widowed women and who happened to be selected from the families surveyed in the village Chheurey, in Police Station Kumarkhali in the District of Nadia which is now known as Kushtia District of East Pakistan. A number of other families of widowed women of Dacca District have been dealt with in connection with our discussion on handloom cotton weaving industry (Vide § 8 Part IV).

I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
No.	Religion.	Name	Occupation.	Members of the Family.	Homestead and cattle (1) Sold (2) Remaining.	Other Movable Assets Sold
1.	Muslim	Kabiron Bibi	Buskot-making	Self & 2 daughters.	(1) House Sold at Rs. 29/- (2) ½ a katha land remaining.	Rs. 15/-
2.	Do.	Saar Bibi	Do.	Self	(2) A hut. remains.	Rs. 12/-
3.	Do.	Ifa Bibi	Do.	Do.	(2) Nil	Rs. 2/10/-
4.	Do.	Haon Khatun	Do.	Do.	(2) One room of corrugated tin remaining.	Rs. 46/-
5.	Hindu	Sandhya	Selling vegetables.	Do.	(1) Cattle Sold at Rs. 20/-	Rs. 6/-
6.	Do.	Malati	Selling Milk	Do.	(1) 4 Goats sold at Rs. 13/-	—
7.	Do.	Bisakha Sundari Dasi.	Paddy husking.	Do.	(2) One hut & 10 Kathas of land remaining.	—

PAKISTAN (E. BENGAL OR E. PAKISTAN)

APPENDIX. I

Joint families separated.

(A)	Vill. Kamalapur	P. S. Kushtia	Dist. Nadia (now Kushtia of E. Pakistan.)
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Serial No.	Head of family	Originally one family.	Separated into-
1.	Srish Biswas & Bros.	One	5 families
2.	Mohindra Nath Halder & Bros.	One	3 families
3.	Avilash Mandal & Son.	"	2 "
4.	Gagan Mandal & Son.	"	2 "

(B)	Vill. Nagarpara-Beharia,	P. S. Khoksha,	Dt. Nadia (Now Kushtia of E. Pakistan).
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1.	Jiban Krishna Pramanik & Brother.	"	2 "
2.	Basanta Sarkar & brothers.	"	3 "

APPENDIX—II

Divorce. District : Dacca.

Name of the person divorced or divorcing	Village	Occupation
1. Sundar Ali's daughter	Kotalirchar	Labour
2. Daughter of Kadam Ali	Madhabdi	Small peasant
3. Dukhia Bibi	Mahishadi	Begging
4. Chheyttulla C/o Ayet Ali	Chota Gaderchar	Servant
5. Pachi Bibi	Mohishadi	Maid servant
6. Phofani Bibi	Atpaika	Loom worker
7. Daughter of Karim Box	Chota Gaderchar	Begging
8. Son of Ahmed Ali.	Madhabdi	Porter.

APPENDIX—III

Prostitution

Name.	Village.	District.	Religion.	Occupation.
Sister of Mr. K.	Kotalirchar	Dacca	Muslim	Loom worker.

APPENDIX—IV

Death Returns from Union Boards.

Dist. Nadia (now Dist. Kushtia, E. Pakistan)	Dt. -Nadia (now Kushtia, E.P.)
P.S. Kushtia, Union : Barkhada Vill.-Mongalberia.	P.S. Kushtia, Union Mazampur Vill. Harisankarpur.

Month	1942	1943	1942	1943
Jan.	?	25	?	16
Feb.	?	25	?	29
Mar.	?	31	?	25
Aprl.	?	10	?	17
May	?	20	?	30
June	?	8	?	8
July	?	18	?	17
Aug.	?	39	?	28
Sept.	17	55	23	52
Oct.	25	56	20	56
Nov.	29	?	?	?
Dec.	?	?	?	?

APPENDIX—V

Death Survey By Author

Vill : Chheuroy (Mondalpara)
P. S. Kumarkhali
Dist. Nadia. (Now, Kushtia, E. Pakistan).

Serial No.	Name	Age.	Serial No.	Name	Age.
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List on next page

Death Survey by Author (Contd.)

Sl. No.	Name	Age.	Sl. No.	Name	Age
1.	Son of Mahiraddi Mondal	5	23.	Lachhar Mondal	40
2.	Daughter of -do-	7	24.	Son of Badaruddin Mondal	5
3.	Son of Late Pamoehha Mondal	9	25.	Grand-son of Inaddi Mondal	2
4.	Daughter of -do-	7	26.	Touaz Mondal	50
5.	Son of Kokil Mondal	3	27.	Rahaman Monda	33
6.	Daughter of Phani Mondal	8	(He lived on pulses continuously for three months before he died).		
7.	Son of Kalimuddin Mondal	6	28.	Wife of Panchu Mondal	60
8.	Son of Seala Mondal	4	29.	Janak Mondal	60
9.	Daughter of Amis Mondal	5	30.	Lahar Mondal	30
10.	Daughter of Tilai Mondal	10	31.	Kabiladdi Mondal	22
11.	Son of Late Yogi Mondal	5	32.	Year Mullick	35
12.	Wife of Kathu Mondal	40	33.	Osman Mondal	45
13.	Wife of Majjuddi	25	34.	Daughter of Hazari Mondal	5
14.	Mother-in-law of -do-	50	35.	Kalimuddin Mondal	7
15.	Daughter of Inaddi	5	36.	Son of-Arsad Mondal	14
16.	Son of -do-	7	37.	Daughter of Sherjan Mondal	5
17.	Wife of Late Panchu Mondal	30	38.	Kedar Mondal	50
18.	Son of Pachi Mondal	12	39.	Gokul Mondal	40
19.	Daughter of -do-	4	40.	Kokil Mondal	50
20.	Mother of -do-	50	41.	Daughter of Nijum Mondal	9
21.	Son of Tahir Mondal	5	42.	Daughter of Abdul Kuddus	(3 months).
22.	Wife of Mongal Mondal	18	43.	Daughter of Aifa Bibi	13
			44.	Inus Mondal	45
Total 44 persons out of 750 persons. or 150 families in the village Mondal-para.					

Vill.—Nagarpara Beharia, P. S. Khoksa, Dt.—Nadia (now Kushtal)

Sl. No.	Name.	Age.
1.	Wife of Anath Bandhu Biswas	32 yrs.
2.	Grand daughter of -do-	4 "
3.	Wife of Jyotish Biswas	22 "
4.	Daughter of Felu Pramanik	4 months.
5.	" " Nitaijada Sarkar	2 "
6.	Wife of Suren Pramanik	18 years.
7.	Son of " "	1 month.
8.	Wife of Yajneswar	16 years.
9.	Daughter of Khokan Pramanik	6 months.
10.	Daughter of Nabadwip Sinha	2 years.
11.	Wife of Akshay Kumar Pramanik	14 "

(died by hanging to escape starvation).

11 persons died out of 150 persons (33 families) in the village.

Vill.—Kamalapur, P. S. Kushtia, Dt.—Nadia (now, Kushtia, E. Pakistan).

Serial No.	Name.	Age.
1.	Satish Halder ...	50
2.	Wife of Makhan Mondal ...	25
3.	Son of Mahim Mondal ...	9
4.	Daughter of Annada Dasi ...	6
5.	" " " " " " " " " " " "	8
6.	Daughter of Lakshmi Chhunuri ...	3
7.	Mother of Baidyanath ...	55
8.	Daughter of Judhisthir Mondal ...	3
9.	" " " " " " " " " " " "	5

9 persons.

Vill.—Mangalbaria. Union Barkhada. P. S. Kushtia, Dt.—Nadia.
(now Kushtia, E. Pakistan).

Serial No.	Name.	Age.
1.	The wife of Bila Shoik ...	25
2.	The daughter of „ ...	4
3.	„ „ of Jeherali Shoik ...	35
4.	Sister of -do- ...	25
5.	Daughter of Kathi Mondal ...	19
6.	„ Fakir Sheik ...	7
7.	Daughter of Chhoban ...	3
8.	Daughter of Kheru Sardar ...	4
9.	Wife of Hamed Mondal ...	40

Total 9 persons.

APPENDIX—VI.

Families Wiped Off.

(2) .

District : Dacca.

- | | | | |
|----|-----------|--------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1. | Family of | Late Sharitulla of | Biramporo Village. |
| 2. | " | " | Jonabali -do- |
| 3. | " | " | Late Monoruddi -do- |
| 4. | " | " | Late Abdul Malek -do- |
| 5. | " | " | Tunai of Algi Village. |
| 6. | " | " | Late Amiruddi of Syamtoli Village. |

Out of 26 families surveyed in the above 3 villages (vide the list of villages given at the beginning of this book).

Families Wiped Off (Contd.)

(B)

Vill.—Mongalheria, Dt.—Nadia (now Kushtia).

1. Family of Bila Sheik
 2. " " Chhoban Sheik
 3. " " Omar Sheik
 4. " " Kheru Sardar.
 5. " " Shokta Pramanik.
-

Out of 85 families.

(C)

Vill.—Nagarpara-Beharia, P/S. Khoksa, Dist. Nadia (now, Kushtia).

1. Ramlal Sarkar
 2. Trailakshya Mistry
 3. Jago Pramanik
 4. Panchu Mondal
 5. Nabadwip Sinha
-

5 Out of 33 families.

N. B. 16 out of 144 families or 11.1% of the families that were covered were wiped out.

PART V

QUESTIONNAIRE AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

§ 1. Questionnaire Prepared by the Author. On Famine of 1943.

1. Name and age of the head of the family
2. Members of family surviving the famine—(age, civil condition, sex, relationship to head of the family, etc.)
3. Deaths during the famine period, i.e., during 1943—age at death, cause of death, etc.
4. Famine Epidemic—(nature of epidemic, name of disease, duration, treatment and medical expenses.)
5. Profession, change of profession due to famine; working dependent, Non-working dependent and earning members of the family.
6. Sale, mortgage and lease of land during 1943—consideration money. How sale proceeds utilised, value received vis-a-vis document value.
7. Name of transferee, his residence, profession, extent of his own land.
8. Condition, if any, or, duration of mortgage or leases.
9. Purchase of land or taking land on mortgage or lease, conditions, etc.
10. Loss, sale, mortgage or purchase of tools or trade-implements, if any.
11. Loss or sale of live-stock, utensil, furniture, ornaments, house, and other movable property—the price received and their fair market price—cause of sale and how the money received was spent.
12. Purchase or fresh accretion of assets mentioned in question No. 11—Purchase price, amount of cash, immovable and movable property including houses, live-stock, plough and plough-cattle, etc.
13. Owned and 'Barga' land cultivated—extent diminishing or increasing during 1942-44; causes of increase or diminution.
14. Variety and amount of crops raised during 1942-44.
15. Extent of fallow land—increasing or diminishing during 1942-44. Causes of increase or decrease.
16. Extent of homestead land, garden and tank, orchard, cultivable land let out in Barga or on lease.
17. Loans outstanding from co-operative society, if any; 'Taccavi' Loans due to Govt., seed loan—amount cleared away—cause of debts in 1943. Other sources of loans.
18. Debts to Mahajans—cash and kind, interest rate, amount liquidated during 1943 and 1944.
19. Arrears of Rent due to landlord.
20. Amount of Hand-loan and loan from shops (i.e. purchase on credit) during 1943. cause: Amount cleared off in 1944. Decretal debt, Award by D. S. Board.
21. Mortgage of movable assets during famine—interest rate. How much loan cleared—Cause of mortgage loan—condition of mortgage.

22. Temporary desertion of the village by members of the family during the famine—duration, cause, family troubles and separation resulting from economic distress during 1943.
23. Members of family eating from Government's Gruel Relief Kitchens—official relief received in cloth, blanket, etc. Comments, if any.
24. Literacy, and primary or higher education among members of the family.
25. Families in comfort, below comfort, above want and in want.
26. Family Budgets (vide below, Questionnaire on Family Budget).

General Questions regarding the village.

(On Famine)

1. List of families wiped off or deserting the village during the famine year.
2. List of joint families separated, and selling land during 1943 and 1944.
3. List of cases of divorce, Adoption, Prostitution, desertion of relatives, theft, loot and robbery, etc., during 1943.
4. Official Relief: Free kitchen, Relief Camp, Ration, Relief Hospital, Gratuitous relief from private institutions, parties or organisations, Govt. help—loans or gratuitous relief in money, food, seeds, bulls, ploughs, land, etc., or in the shape of debt or rent moratorium.
5. Results of "Food Drive" in 1943, hoarding by businessmen and civilians, export of paddy, purchase of paddy or rice by Govt. agents and price offered vis-a-vis private purchase; position of local stock of *aus* and *aman* in 1944, season's crop forecast including jute, etc.
6. Trade, crafts, or profession lost during 1943, why lost?
7. How far progress of education checked due to famine?
8. Human and cattle mortality and epidemic during famine and its aftermath.
9. Non-official Relief.
10. Prices of essential commodities at different periods, how far increased in 1943? Scale of wages of labourers of different types in 1944. 1943 and before, prices of agricultural implements, bullocks, live-stock, seed, land, homestead, furniture, utensils, tools and implements of trade, etc., during the famine and preceding the famine.

§ 2 QUESTIONNAIRE OF CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

Department of Anthropology.
Summer of 1943, Calcutta.

Sociological Enquiry Scheme regarding Destitutes
Trekking to Calcutta City.

I. General Information :—

1. Name of the leader of the Unit.
2. His or her (a) age (b) sex (c) religion (d) caste (e) civil condition.
3. Father's name of the leader.

4. Name of the former permanent place of residence—Post Office—Thana—District.
5. Present Residence.
6. When the village home has been abandoned.
7. Why it has been abandoned (immediate causes).

II. Socio-economic Information :—

8. Nature of the unit investigated—(Record in the form of a genealogical table showing names, age, and sex) ; the nature of the family before leaving home—how far it has been disintegrated.
9. Mother, brother, father, if any of the leader—their present condition—their present residence.
10. Number of members of the unit dead during the last six months and after abandonment of home.
11. Cause of death.
12. Assets of the Unit before the war.
 - (a) at the time of leaving home
 - (b) at present
 - (Record area of land
(cultivable and homestead,
(number of houses—number of
cattle—cart—etc.)
13. What has become of the assets?
14. Previous occupation of the man (in case of woman, of her husband) and of other members of the group—wages earned—income of the family.
15. Was there any debt? Was any attempt made to secure loan before leaving home to stabilise position? What was the result? (This is to estimate the effect of B. A. D. Act.).
16. Is repatriation possible? If so, where the unit may possibly return?
17. Is there any willingness to take up any work? If so, what kind of work?
18. How the unit is maintaining itself now?
19. Are all members of the unit moving together or seeking for food independently and assembling at night?

§ 3. QUESTIONNAIRE PREPARED BY THE AUTHOR.

On

Family Budget.

- (A) Name of head of family.
(Showing Caste and Religion)
- (B) Number of members
 1. Men) Old
 2. Women)
 3. Men) Adult
 4. Women)
 5. Boys) Children.
 6. Girls)

- (C) Land held by family. 7. Khatian number and village (State whether raiyati or korfa).
 8. Rents (total)
 9. Arrears for each holding.
 10. Periods of arrears in years and months.
 11. Areas (total)
 12. Area held *khas*.
 13. Area let in *Adhi* (Barga)
 14. Area cultivated by hired labourers.
 15. Cultivated land
 16. Orchard
 17. Fishing Tank
 18. Others.
- (D) Area cultivated in *Adhi*. 19. Plot No. and village
 20. Total area
 21. Value of (Barga) produce i.e. of Share.
- (E) Income : 22. Estimate of value of *khas* produce consumed (including milk, poultry and fish) reckoned at selling price.
 23. Rent received
 24. Interest on money lent.
 25. Income from trade
 26. Income from home industries.
 27. Income from wages as labourer.
 28. Income from profession or service.
 29. Price of Agricultural produce.
 30. Price of milk, fish or poultry sold.
 31. Price of live-stock sold.
 32. Other sources.
 33. Total income (excluding produce consumed).
- (F) Expenditure 34. Rice
 (a) Food : 35. 'Dal'.
 36. Salt.
 37. Oil.
 38. Spices.
 39. Fish and meat.
 40. Vegetables
 41. Milk and ghee
 42. Sugar and molases.
- (b) Household : 43. Kerosene.
 44. Tobacco.
 45. Betelnut.
 46. Clothing (including bedding)
 47. Petty house repair.
 48. Utensils and furniture.
 49. Umbrella and Lantern
 50. Wages of household servant
- (c) Agriculture : 51. Purchase of cattle, plough and livestock.
 52. Purchase of seeds, fodder and other agricultural necessities.

- | | |
|---|---|
| | 53. Purchase of horse, cart, boat, etc. |
| | 54. Erection of new houses. |
| | 55. Payment of agricultural labour. |
| (d) Miscella-
neous : | 56. Rent and interest on rent. |
| | 57. Taxes. |
| | 58. Interest on debt. |
| | 59. Medicine and Doctor. |
| | 60. Education. |
| | 61. Litigation. |
| | 62. Pujahs, birth, marriage and funeral ceremonies. |
| | 63. Other expenditure. |
| | 64. Total expenditure. |
| (G) Annual
balance
(difference
between
Heads 33
and 64). | 65. Saving |
| | 66. Deficit. |
| (H) Details of
each debt
shown
separately | 67. Is the family in comfort, below comfort, above
starvation or starving (from appearance). |
| | 68. Total debts (If none, write 'nil'.) |
| | 69. Principal. |
| | 70. Date of borrowing |
| | 71. Rate of interest. |
| | 72. Why borrowed. |
| | 73. Amount outstanding. |
| | 74. Amount repaid. |
| | 75. Name of creditor. |
| | 76. Occupation of creditor. |
| | 77. Decision of D. S. Board, if any. |

§ 4. QUESTIONNAIRE ON ECONOMIC CLASSES

I. Agricultural Family Budgets.

1. Family : class—caste—members :

Adult and minor—how much land for cultivation.

2. Income : from land—Trade—wages (if and when wage labourer)—live-stock (sale of milk, eggs, etc., or of stock itself)—Craft (Spinning, weaving, bamboo, cane, etc.)—fruit tree or garden—sale of wood, bamboo, etc.—cart hire—sale of manure, etc.—sale of fish, ghee etc.—miscellaneous.

3. Expenditure : Food requirements (price of all items to be covered)—clothing—housing (new construction or repairing)—education—sanitation and medicines, etc.—sick diet—confinement, etc.—washing, barber, cobbler, etc.—cultivation (seeds, manure, labour, irrigation, bullocks, cartage, harvesting, barn, implements, improvement of land, etc.)—Rent—lease—interest—Indebtedness (why and how much, increasing or decreasing)—social expenses : rituals and ceremonies (marriage, funeral, etc.), travelling, postal expenses, etc.

II. Village Artisan's Family Budget.

Similar to above—separately for each group of artisans (weavers, potters, carpenters and people of occupation as of fishermen, etc.)

1. Income : from land and trade, ordinary labour, etc.
2. Expenditure : Raw material—marketing—implements (suggest improvement).

III. Agricultural Labourer : Family Budget, similar to above, with special reference to :

Nature of work—hours of work, working days in a year (normally)—degree of incentive to work as compared to one while doing his own work (why less than normal and how much less)—Wages (at sowing, harvesting and other times) in 1939 to 1944—wage rate for men, women and children—unemployment,—Real wages, if any.

Expenses of each category (family by family) on pan (betel), tobacco, tea, drink, etc.

IV. Agricultural Resources of village.

1. Total population : (a) male—adult and minor, (b) female—adult and minor.—Classification : (a) Peasants—rich, middle and lower, share-croppers and agricultural labourers (total families and individuals of each category)—(b) Artisans (actually engaged in crafts, group by group, as above).

2. Land (total) : Cultivated and cultivable waste—irrigation arrangement—seeds and manure available, amount of surplus and deficit—bullocks and requirements available and necessary (surplus and deficit)—Rate of rent (average).

3. Crops cultivated : Average quantity of each produced normally and normal money value—import and export—money crops and how they are disposed of—what necessary crops and how much imported for consumption—whether these can be grown in village—arrangement for marketing surplus produce and how it can be improved.

4. Crafts : What and how much supply of raw materials and implements and marketing facilities—co-ordination between local agriculture and crafts—how peasants taking to local crafts—how craftsman interested in local agriculture.

5. Indebtedness : Total of village—total of agriculturists—total of craftsmen—percentage of each and per capita amount—increasing or decreasing rates of interest, maximum, minimum and average—supply of capital comes from where : within village or outside, who supplies (that is, what interest supplies).

6. Ownership of land : Classification of owners and percentage, total for each class and per capita (non-cultivating owner, cultivating owner)—How much of 'total' land cultivated by owner, share-cropper and wage-labourer, waste land in whose hands (on percentage and on classification-of-owner basis).

§ 5. General Questions regarding the village.
(*Social and Economic*)

1. General information of the village from, and regarding. Union Board, Defence party, Library, Dispensary, Club, Gymnasium, D.S. Board, Village improvement Society, etc.
2. Historical information or heresay.
3. Physical description of the village, Geographical position in relation to hills, forests, rivers, railways, facilities of transport and communication, areas and boundaries of the village, post office, telegraph office, railway or steamer station, thana, sub-division, etc.
4. Social Condition :—
 - (a) Touchable or untouchable
 - (b) Joint family or not (c) Pardah system prevalent or not
 - (d) Widow-marriage prevalent or not
 - (e) Drinking habits, (f) General Culture,
 - (g) Prevalence of crimes, (h) Festivals, amusements, games, play, etc. (i) Professional beggars
 - (j) Population and families increasing or diminishing
 - (k) Migration of population during last 50 years.
5. Roads, irrigation facilities, drainage system, etc.
6. Temples, mosques, churches, etc.
7. Inter-Communal and inter-caste feeling.
8. Village administration—merits and defects.
9. Opportunities for improvement.
10. Any society trying for the improvement of the village
 or..... zamindar.....
 or Government.....
 or Union Board, District Board, Local Board,.....
 or educated or rich people of the village.....
 or any political party
 or any other organisation, etc.
11. Latrines, sanitation, personal health habits, water-supply for drinking and domestic purposes, tanks, tube-wells, etc.
12. Snake-bites, mosquitoes, jungles, stagnant pools, etc.
13. Different diseases prevalent and medical arrangements in the village, charitable dispensaries, if any.
14. Housing condition in general, buildings, corrugated iron house and thatched houses—their number, size of rooms, persons living per room, windows and doors, etc.
15. Nature of social or public services, if any.
16. Women's occupation—if any—Earner or working dependents.
17. Details about the nearest school.
18. Is there any library?—No. of books and magazines.
19. What occupation and cottage industries have been ruined? What are the causes? Last 50 years. Prospect for Home Crafts.
20. How many families preparing home-made sweets, tinned fruits, *chatnis*, condiments, etc.

21. Remuneration and conditions of labour

—(A) Period of work : hours per day
days per week
days per month.

(B) Name of permanent work—rate of remuneration.

(C) do. temporary do.

(D) Place of work and distance from home

(E) Nature and Extent of subsidiary occupation.

(F) Average monthly income.

(G) Customary wages—in Money—in kind.

22. Zamindar's relation with tenants; absentee landlords, and their present whereabouts, date since when absent, relation with villagers and tenants. Comment, if any.

23. Any improvement or decay in the method of cultivation.

24. Types of Crops and timings.

25. Productivity of Soil.

26. Cost of Agricultural Farming—holdings of different size.

27. Productivity of labour in terms of agricultural output.

23. Terms and condition of share-cropping, Rent of land, *Salami*, *Abwab*, How seeds procured, Rotation of crops, Marketing, Implements used, average area cultivated per plough, per pair of bullocks, longevity of bullocks.

29. What percentage of the local demand is met with the paddy produced in the locality.

30. Is there any co-operative credit society? Its origin, progress and prospects.

31. Markets and Mode of Marketing. How far and when has any development of the transport system (conveyance and means of communication) been followed by development or changes, (a) in the size and composition of local or adjacent markets (b) in the commodities produced and sold, (c) in the character of business (wholesale or retail), (d) in the technique of agriculture, (e) in the local crafts and industries?

32. Is there any pasture land? Chief cattle diseases and treatment and time of appearance, percentage of mortality, pests and insects, difficulties of agriculture.

33. Live-Stock—Nature and quantity of feeds supplied, housing arrangements, supply of drinking water, milk products made.

34. Manner of investing family savings—past and present, after-effects of B. A. D. Act., after-effects of Money Lender's Act. Flight of rural capital, where, why and since when? Rate of interest—past and present, with reasons for change, if any, in the rate. How loan transactions now carried on; merits and defects of D. S. Boards; debt conciliated so far, manner of scaling down of debts, etc.

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Land Reforms (Rs. 5/-)

(By Dr. Karuna Mukerji)

Pub. : H. Chatterjee & Co., Ltd., 19, Syama Ch. De St., Cal.—12

(Synopsis of Contents)

Land Systems of India & Pakistan : Historical Retrospect—Types of existing land Tenures & Settlements—Permanent vs Temporary Settlement—Land tenures in Provinces of India & Pakistan—Principles of revenue assessment—Ownership of land—Revenue, Tax & Rent—Ricardo & Smith applied to India & Pak.—How are rents fixed : Custom, Competition & Legislation—Incidence of Rents & Revenue in Provinces of India & Pak.—Tenants : Categories—Tenant rights—Tenancy legislation in Indian & Pak. Provinces—Latest Tenancy reforms—Subinfeudation—Tenures : varieties—Subproprietary rights—Hierarchy of landed interests—Abolition of Landlordism—Implications of Zamindari & Jagirdari abolition—Compensation—Abolition laws & various reforms in India & Pakistan—Provincial fullest details—Criticisms—Agrarian reorganisation in post-zamindari-abolition period—Types of farming : Co-operative, Joint & Collective Farming—Co-operative farmings in Italy, Palestine, Bulgaria, China, etc.—Types of Co-operative Farming—Co-operative & Collective Farming prospects in India & Pak.—Acharya Vinoba Bhave's Bhoodan Mission—Planning Commission on Coop. Village Management—Peasant Farming & Family Farming—Family Farming in foreign countries—Land Systems of U. S. A., Soviet Union, China, Bulgaria, Turkey, Germany, Italy, France, Gr. Britain, Japan, Korea, etc.—U. N. O. on Land Reforms—Land Reform Law (June, 1950) of People's China—A 13-Point Plan of Agrarian Reforms in India & Pak.—Recommendations of Indian Congress Agrarian Reforms Com.—Do of Pak. Muslim League Agr. Ref. Com.—Problems of Crop-Sharers & under-tenants—Te. bhaga movement and Bargadar reforms law—Problems of Agricultural Labourers—Swelling ranks—Low living—Unemployment—Destitution—Serfdom survives—Forced labour—Wages & Prices—Minimum Wages Act : India & Pak.—Wage regulation in foreign countries—Recent Labour Inquiries by India Govt.—Sample surveys in India & Pak.—Plantation labour—Planning Com. on Agri. Labour—Conclusions & Recommendations, etc., etc.

LIST OF VILLAGES SURVEYED AND FAMILIES COVERED.

India (West Bengal).		Pakistan (East Bengal or E. Pakistan).	
A. District : Jessore (now. 24-Parganas)		A. District : Dacca.	
Police Station—Bongaon.		Police Stations—(1) Narsingdi	
		(2) Araihaazar	
Village	No. of Families.	Village	No. of Families.
1. Akaipur ..	11	1. Noapara ..	7
2. Akaipur-Mithapara ..	3	2. Dighirpara ..	5
3. Huda-Mithapara ..	1	3. Nurallapur ..	7
4. Huda ..	1	4. Jhirkutia ..	3
5. Sealdanga ..	1	5. Chaitab ..	1
6. Meherpur ..	2	6. Algi ..	16
		7. Anandi ..	8
		8. Balnchar ..	1
		9. Birampore ..	9
Total ..	19	10. Baniadi ..	6
		11. Mahisadi ..	5
		12. Atpaika ..	3
		13. Kandapara ..	2
		14. Kamalapur ..	2
		15. Ujanchar ..	1
		16. Balanagar ..	1
		17. Kotalirchar ..	2
		18. Gadarchar ..	4
		19. Fajurkandi ..	1
		20. Tatapara ..	7
		21. Syamtoli ..	1
		22. Choto Gaderchar ..	4
		23. Kamranirchar ..	1
		24. Madhabdi ..	7
		25. Fause ..	1
		26. Chougharia ..	1
		27. Kashipur ..	3
		28. Rungpur ..	1
		29. Panchrokhi ..	1
		30. Noakandi ..	1
		31. Bhogirathpur ..	1
		32. Shidarkenda ..	1
		33. Panchdona ..	1
		34. Baghernagar ..	1
		35. Abdulkandi ..	1
		Total ..	117 families
B. District : Howrah.		B. District : Nadia (now. Kushtia)	
P. S.—Ulberia.		Police Station—(1) Kushtia.	
		(2) Kumarkhali.	
		(3) Khoksa.	
Village	No. of Families.	Village	No. of Families.
Narullapara ..	65	1. Harisankarpur ..	44
		2. Mangalberia ..	85
		3. Kamalapur ..	77
		4. Chheurey	
		(Mondalpara) ..	150
		5. Nagarpur-Beharia ..	33
		Total ..	389
Grand Total.		Grand Total	
No. of Villages.	No. of Families.	No. of Villages.	No. of Families.
9	473	40	596

FACTORY WORKERS

Table 1

Monthly Income. (Rs.)	No. of fami- lies.	Size of the family				Monthly total wages (Rs.)	D lab
		Earners	Wkg. Depdt.	Non. W. Depdt.	Total		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
1-25 ..	3	4	3	4	11	53	
6-50 ..	2	4	5	2	11	75	
26-Up ..	1	2	3	2	7	95	
Total	6	10	11	8	29	122	

Table 2

Monthly income (Rs.)	No. of families	No. of persons	Percentage of			N.
			Earners.	W. D.	N.	
1	2	3	4	5		
1-25 ..	3	11	36.4	27.2		3
26-50 ..	2	11	36.4	45.4		1
76-Up ..	1	7	28.6	42.8		2
Total	6	29	34.5	37.9		2

* Plus income from by-occupation, vide Col. (10), Table I above.